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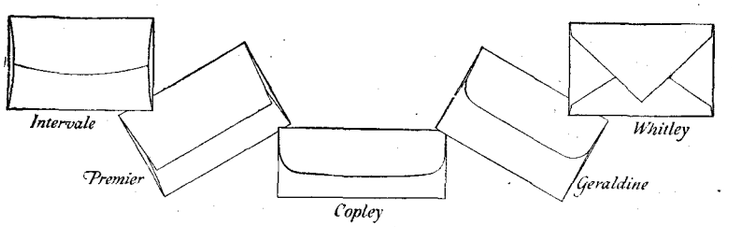

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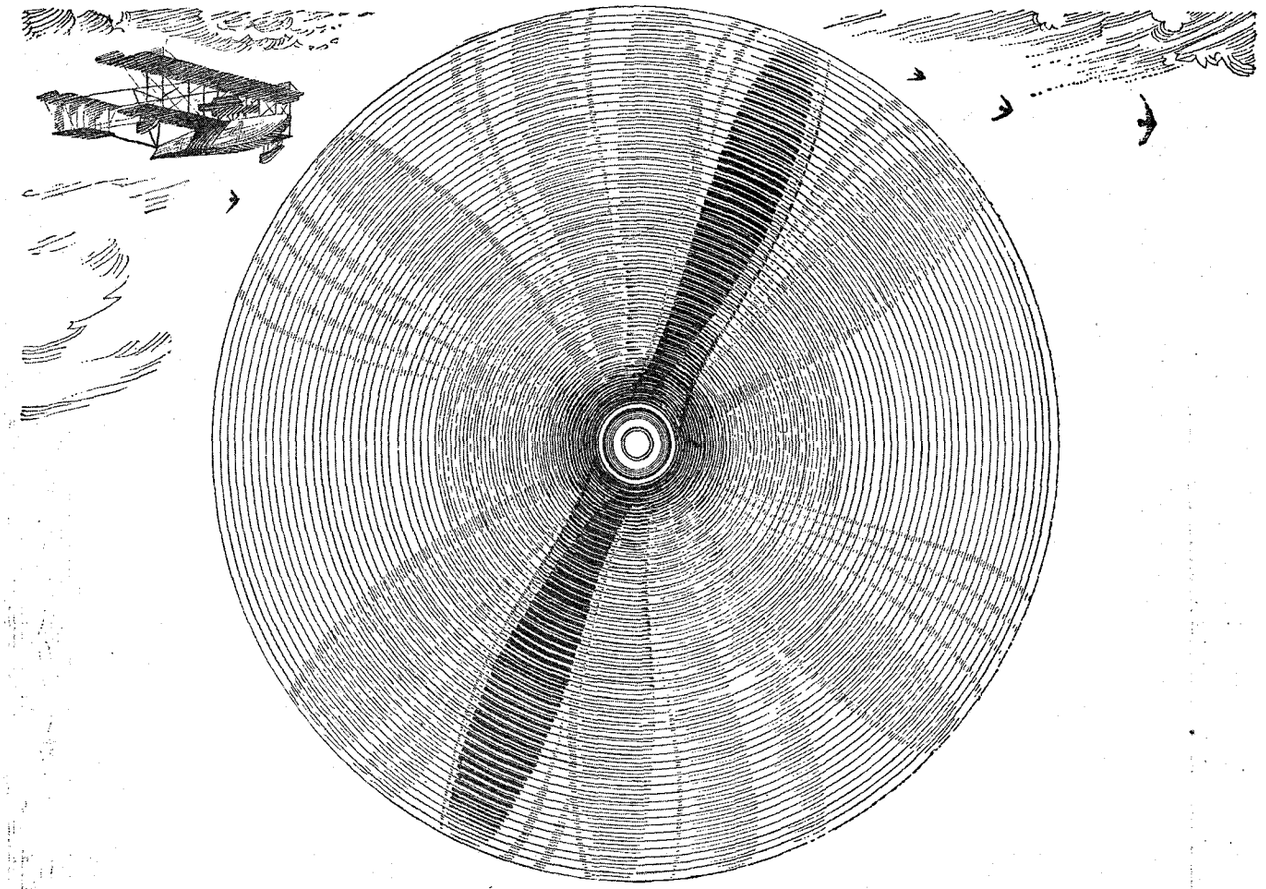

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The Outlook

AUGUST 13, 1919

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

AS this issue of The Outlook goes to press, acute interest in the Senate in debating the League of Nations has been switched to surprise and consternation at the official notification of the organized employees of railways that they are for Federal ownership—a pronouncement upon which we comment in following paragraphs.

Nevertheless the Peace Treaty and the Covenant of the League of Nations still constitute a burning question. A few weeks ago there was a not unimportant group of both political leaders and citizens who felt that the plan for a League of Nations should be wholly rejected. That view has now, we think, been very generally abandoned, and the question has resolved itself into this: Shall the Treaty be ratified as it stands or shall it be accompanied by a statement from the Senate of reservations or interpretations? Moreover, the sentiment in the Senate seems to be growing against reservations which would act as amendments. The view of ex-Justice Hughes that amendments, or new matter added to the Covenant of the League of Nations, would require its resubmission to the contracting parties, has made a distinct impression. Our own view of the situation may be expressed in this way:

If we were members of the Senate, we should not vote for any amendments which we thought would be likely to imperil the Treaty; we should vote for any interpretative reservations which we thought would not imperil the Treaty and which would probably help to secure votes for it when it came up for final action; and when the Treaty came up for final action we would vote for it with whatever reservations had been carried, or would also vote for it without reservations if none had been adopted. In other words, we think that the adoption of the Treaty and the League is so important and that the refusal of the Senate to adopt them would be so disadvantageous and perhaps disastrous that we should be determined in our voting by this one consideration: What vote will be most likely in the end to secure the adoption of the Treaty and the League?

SECRETARY LANE'S OPINION OF THE LEAGUE

Another interesting contribution to the general discussion has been made by Mr. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, in a speech which he delivered on July 30 to a mass-meeting of Government employees in Washington. Mr. Lane is an accomplished lawyer, and, while he is a member of the Administration, his speech is refreshing because of its freedom from prejudice, personalities, or partisanship. For example, he says:

> There is much bitterness of feeling over the proposed League. Some would have the Treaty rejected because of its presence therein. Others would have the Treaty and the League separated. Now I believe that every one would have preferred that the League of Nations should have been born in a different way and at a different time. But was that possible? And were not the nations committed to it at this time?

Secretary Lane takes the position which John Jay took with regard to the American Constitution. The Covenant is not a perfect document, but it is the product of a great crisis. It has been written after careful and, on the whole, unselfish deliberation. It is the first step forward that can be taken at this time towards the employment of judicial procedure instead of war in the settlement of international disputes. Can we afford not to avail ourselves of this opportunity? Can we run the risk of hoping for a better document if we decline to take this one? Secretary Lane's answer to these questions, like John Jay's to similar questions regarding the Constitution, is, No. Secretary Lane believes that the Covenant of the League does not impair the essential sovereignty of the United States, does not affect adversely the Monroe Doctrine, and does not invade the Constitutional right of Congress "to alone declare war." He rightly, we think, says that the utility of the League depends almost wholly upon its operation after ratification. His summary of its potential character deserves to be quoted:

"Perhaps it may fairly be said that with less power the League would be a scrap of paper, a generous gesture toward peace; while with more power the League would open itself to the charge that it was a super nation, an international state, and, so far as America is concerned, would be of doubtful constitutionality. As it is, the League may be described as a watchful eye, a warning voice, and a gloved hand. It is a bit of rather simple machinery by which the opinion of the world can be brought to bear upon the governments of the world. It will live if it is useful, otherwise it will die. It can be made useful if it does those things which appeal to the people as conservative, sensible, and wholly devoid of partisanship as between nations. It cannot be useful if it does not strictly construe its own powers when in doubt as against itself and in favor of the nations which comprise it. It is to be an agent and not a master, an agent of the nations. Its ultimate fortune rests in the confidence which the peoples show in each other. It will fail if it cannot stimulate this. For the nations can destroy it by mutual distrust. On the other hand, they can make it greatly serve mankind by gaining and developing the sentiment that we, the united democracies of the world, are bent upon preserving peace by persevering regard for each other's national rights."

THE PRONOUNCEMENT OF THE RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS

Far and away the most important event of the past ten days has been the statement of the organized employees of the steam railways of the country calling for Government ownership under a plan by which the railway workers shall have both a voice in the management of the roads and a share in the profits. This statement, signed by Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; W. G. Lee, President Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen; Timothy Shea, Acting Chief Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen; L. E. Sheppard, President Order of Railway Conductors; and B. M. Jewell, Acting President Railway Employees' Department, American Federation of Labor, is so pregnant with possible results for the economic and social life of the country that we print it in full, as follows:

> Labor faces a persistently serious situation due to the cost of living and the impossibility of wages keeping pace with the depreciation of money. No fundamental changes are being advanced to save workers from continual defeat in the economic struggle of life. The railroad employees are in no mood to brook the return of the lines to their former control, since all the plans suggested for this settlement of the problems leave labor essentially where it has stood and where it is determined not to stand.
>
> We realize that in the strife for wage increases we cannot win any permanent victory. It is not money but value which counts. The vicious circle is infinite; increased wages are overcapitalized, for inflated profits and the cost of goods mount faster than the wage level. A few grow wealthy and the multitude is impoverished.
>
> Any basic change must begin with the railroads. We believe the interests of

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labor and the public to be identical in the railroad question. The properties have been operated for the profit of the few, not for the service of the many. Not only have we suffered from inadequate wages, but the public has paid an extortionate tax for transportation, a tax based on inflated values and collected from every person buying the necessaries of life.

Our proposal is to operate the railroads democratically, applying the principles to industry for which in international affairs the Nation has participated in a world war. President Wilson declared in his Message of May 20, 1919, for the "genuine democratization of industry, based upon a full recognition of the right of those who work, in whatever rank, to participate in some organic way in every decision which directly affects their welfare in the part they are to play in industry." He spoke plainly in behalf of a "genuine co-operation and partnership based upon real community of interest and participation in control."

It has been argued that labor is merely asking the public to let the workers become the railroad profiteers in place of Wall Street. This argument cannot survive a scrutiny of our proposal.

We do ask for a share of the surplus at the end of each year, after operating costs are met and fixed charges are paid; but we also provide an automatic reduction in rates when this surplus comes to a given level. To restore the surplus the employees of the railroads must increase the efficiency of their management and they must invite new business. What we ask is to share the savings from economies we ourselves introduce and to share the surplus from new business our efficiency makes possible. We should not profit from the railroads as financiers have done; we should participate in the increased earnings from our increased production. We could not earn dividends unless industry as a whole were stimulated by improved transportation service.

In our bill the rights of the public are protected. The rate-fixing power, which is the final check upon railroad management, remains with the Inter-State Commerce Commission. If the new corporation should attempt to pay itself excessive returns, and produce a deficit, the lease is forfeitable.

As to the danger of collusion between the directors of labor and the directors of management to vote to absorb the surplus by raising wages and thus destroy the incentive of dividends, the bill makes a sound provision. We believe that the dividend system is essential if service is to be the motive and not profits. We arrange to give to management twice the rate of dividend the classified employees receive. So management's dividend is always double what its increase of wages would be, and management would never vote to use the surplus for a wage increase at the sacrifice of half of its own gains. To obtain a wage increase the classified employees would have to win the vote of the public directors.

We assure the public immediate savings. The cost of capital would be reduced from the present six to seven per cent paid to Wall Street to four per cent paid upon Government securities. The savings assured under a unified system are enormous. The savings through efficiency rendered possible only by democratic operation are even greater, for the increased production resulting from harmonious relations between employees and their managers is incalculable. We believe our plan will reduce transportation charges in surprising measure, and that it is the first and the most important step in any constructive effort to lower the cost of living.

PRESIDENT WILSON AND THE RAILWAY PROBLEM

The day before the Brotherhood had issued the foregoing statement President Wilson gave his approval in a letter to the Chairman of the House Committee on Inter-State and Foreign Commerce to a plan proposed by Mr. Hines, Director-General of the Railroads, for a settlement of the railway problem. In brief, Mr. Hines's proposal is that a Federal commission be created to investigate and decide upon all questions regarding the wages of railway employees, and that the decisions of such a Federal commission should be mandatory. In a supplementary statement, issued a day or two after their original announcement, the Railway Brotherhoods implied, although they did not explicitly state, that the proposal of Director-General Hines and President Wilson is unsatisfactory to them. They say that increasing wages is only a temporary, and therefore an unsatisfactory, method of dealing with the problem, and they insist that the only way in which the rights of the owners and the employees of the railways, together with those of the general public who use the railways, can be protected is by the method outlined in their statement, already quoted.

THE PLUMB PLAN

This statement, the dignity and temperate language of which has made an impression all over the country, is based on what is known as the Plumb Plan. Mr. Glenn E. Plumb, of Chicago, is counsel for the Railroad Brotherhoods. He outlined his plan in a remarkable and effective speech at the Reconstruction Convention, held in Atlantic City in the early part of last June.

Briefly summarized, the plan is as follows:

The Government shall buy all existing railways with bonds bearing a fixed interest; it shall create a corporation to be controlled by a Board of Directors, "one-third of this Board to be named by the President of the United States with the approval of the Senate, one-third to be elected by the employees in Class A [executives and managers], and one-third to be elected by employees in Class B [wage-earning employees who carry into execution the direction of the executive employees]; the Government shall lease to this corporation all of the railways which it has bought; the profits, if any, shall be equally divided between the Government and the operating corporation—that is to say, the men who manage and do the work of the railways; the public is to get its share of profits by a reduction of rates "whenever in one year the amount of any profits received by the Government shall equal or exceed five per cent of the gross operating revenues;" extensions of the railway system shall be paid for by assessment against the property benefited; a sinking fund shall be provided to redeem the bonds which the Government has issued to purchase the railways.

Mr. Plumb believes that a provision in his plan which will enable Class A, or the managers, to receive extra profits only by maintaining the wages of Class B at a reasonable level will prevent collusion between the two classes to take all the earnings in the form of wages, thus depriving the consumer of the benefit of reduced rates and perhaps even producing a deficit. The advantages of this plan are stated by Mr. Plumb in the following language:

> Under this plan we provide a sure method for the ultimate reduction of transportation charges to actual cost. Under this plan every increase in surplus earnings tends to a reduction in rates. Every expenditure out of earnings for improvements increases the actual investment and earning power without any increase in fixed charges. Every improvement made upon the properties and paid for by local taxation brings about the same result. Every application of surplus earnings and sinking fund accumulations secures a reduction of outstanding capital and a diminution of fixed charges, again securing a further reduction in rates. We insure the public against constantly increasing rates and the wage-earner against the ever-present threat of a reduction in wages. We guarantee to the holder of the securities the protection of the integrity of his investment and the receipt of adequate returns. We give to the community, to the wage-earner, and to the management an equal voice of authority in the direction of the industry. These benefits no other plans can promise. No plan presented by the present owners attempts to procure these results.

TWO OBJECTIONS TO THE PLUMB PLAN

Whatever social and economic advantages there may be in this plan, there is one fundamental defect. It is based upon the assumption that under Government ownership and workers' management there will always be profits and never a deficit. If this were true, the plan would

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Darling in the New York Tribune

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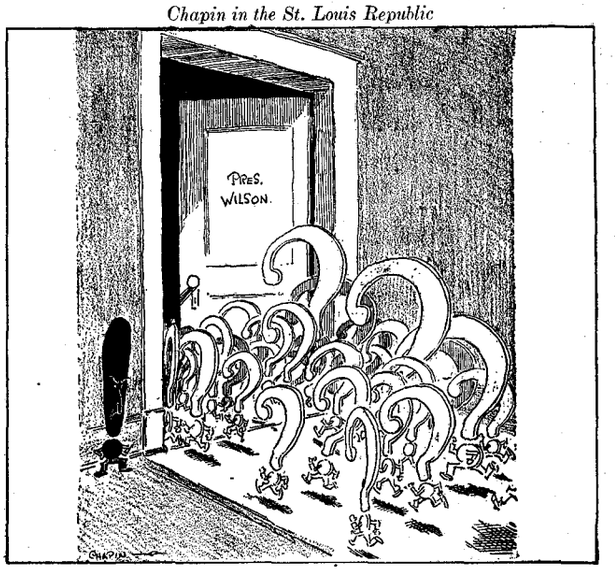
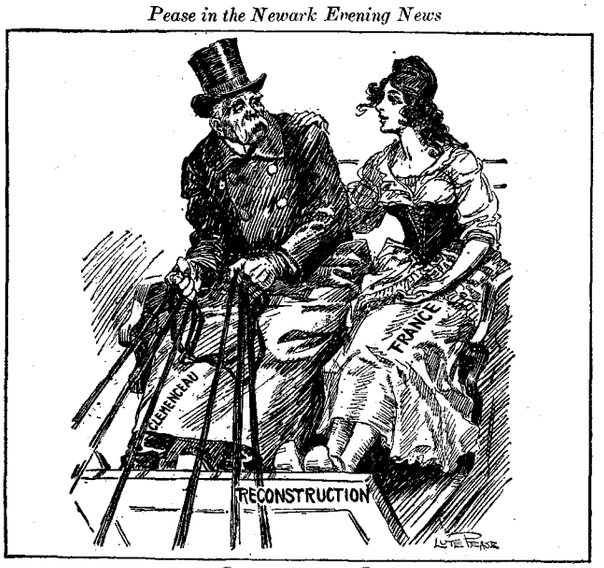
A SUBJECT FOR IMMEDIATE CONSIDERATION

Chapin in the St. Louis Republic



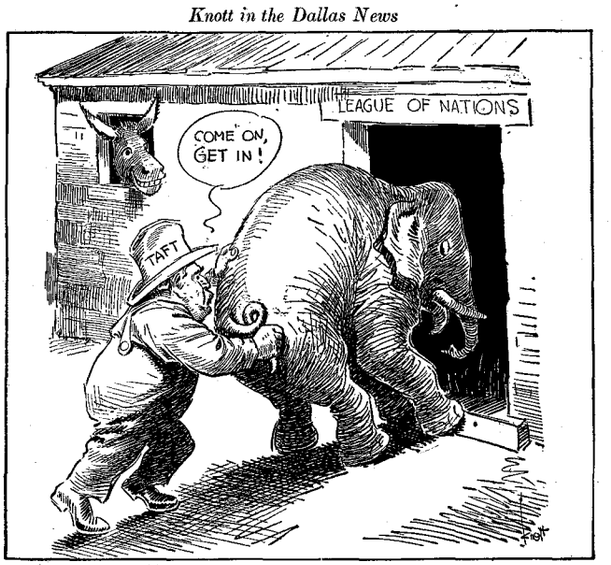
THE OPEN DOOR

Pease in the Newark Evening News



"DRIVE ON!"

Knott in the Dallas News



HIS FORMER MASTER'S VOICE

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OUR DAILY BREAD

From Blighty (London)

"How is your cold, Donald?" "Oh, very obstinate."
"And how's the wife?" "About the same."

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be alluring. The present owners would rather have a four per cent Government bond than a five or six per cent private bond often threatened with the danger of defaulted interest, and the public would be glad to be assured of the novel experience of having their rates reduced whenever they were prosperous enough to do a large business with the railways. But human history shows that "the best-laid schemes o' mice and men gang aft agley." With the best intentions in the world, the workers' corporation might be confronted with some catastrophe, such as forest fires, the failure of a wheat crop, floods, unprovided for in their budget of fixed wages and they might in some lean year face a deficit. Who is to pay this deficit? That is the question. In a private business when a corporation faces a deficit the stockholders have to put their hands into their pockets and pay it if the corporation is to go on. Will Classes A and B of the new managing owners consent to a reduction of wages to meet the deficit? There is no mention of such a contingency in Mr. Plumb's plan. A plan which gives the managers and workers of a corporation one-half the profits, but makes the outside consumer or taxpayer pay all the deficits, is clearly subject to the criticism of being inequitable. It is only fair to say that some remedy for this apparent injustice might possibly be worked out.

Another defect in the plan is that it gives the workers absolute control of the railways. They are to elect two-thirds of the directors. Now the public is as opposed to absolutism on the part of the wage-worker as on the part of the capitalist. The American people will not consent to any plan which takes from them the ultimate power over the railways.

But it will not do to treat the Brotherhoods' plan in an antagonistic spirit. It is a serious proposal; it deals with a problem so complicated and so vital that no preponderating body of men have as yet united upon a solution, and it deserves respectful study.

MAKING OVER THE ARMY

At the end of the world war the century-old problem of properly organizing our National means of defense is still with us. Shall we depend on the old system which thrust the burden which belonged to the many upon the shoulders of the few, waiting until war is at our gate before we begin to prepare? Do we wish to run the risk of that system again, when perhaps we may not be fortunate enough to find allies to defend us until we are ready to defend ourselves?

Shall we try something new? If so, what? There are many plans in the air, and The Outlook hopes to keep its readers informed concerning these plans as they develop. One such plan is outlined in this week's issue of The Outlook. At the instance of the Military Training Camps Association, a bill covering another solution has been introduced in the Senate by Senator Wadsworth, of New York, and in the House by Congressman Julius Kahn, of California. The War Department has also prepared and presented to Congress a detailed plan for a new military establishment. The details of these two very important plans will be given in later issues of The Outlook.

In celebration of the introduction of the bill prepared by the Military Training Camps Association (the association which is both father and child of the Plattsburg idea), that organization recently entertained in Washington the Congressional sponsors of its bill. Senator Chamberlain, whose service to the cause of military preparedness can hardly be overestimated, and many distinguished officers of the Army, including Lieutenant-General Bullard, were also present. Almost all the members of the Military Training Camps Association at the dinner were either in uniform or had recently been discharged from the Army, for practically all the able-bodied members of the Military Training Camps Association were in the Service in some capacity during the war. The record of this Association, both in the number of the members which it gave to the Service and in the aid which it gave to the Government in the selection of candidates for the various officers' training camps, is one which forms one of the brightest chapters in the history of our preparation for the war.

In discussing the problem of military preparedness at the Association's dinner, both Senator Wadsworth and Congressman Kahn pointed out the immensity of the task which now confronts the country in the formation of an after-the-war military policy for our democracy. Congressman Kahn rightly said that the problem could not be solved without the complete, active, and unselfish co-operation of all the agencies concerned, including the various branches of the old Regular Army, Reserve officers, and members of the National Guard, Congressmen and Senators, and associations both of veterans and civilians.

The Outlook believes that this solution must be found in some plan which involves not only the principle of universal military training, but also in a plan which will unify both in form and ideals the various and sometimes antagonistic elements in our present machinery of defense.

SAVING BABIES BY MOTOR TRUCK

Announcement has been made by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor that the first automobile Child Welfare Special ever to be operated by the Government is now making its maiden trip in the State of Illinois. It is a large gray auto truck, with a body especially constructed to house the traveling equipment used by the Bureau specialist in examining and rating the babies of rural parents.

The "Special" was purchased for the purposes of demonstrating how advice on child care and professional examination of the babies of a community could be carried to the front door of the rural mother. During the war it was found that the rural child had more chances of death and poorer health than the city-bred child because the mother of the latter could attend health centers and get scientific information about how to keep her baby well. As the rural mothers are usually completely out of touch with such health centers, the Government has decided to make an experiment in the automobile clinic. It is especially hoped by the Children's Bureau that the automobile clinic will show its usefulness for those regions where the trained nurse and the resident physician do not exist.

Dr. Ruth McGuire, of the Children's Bureau, is in charge of the Special, with a trained nurse and a masculine driver as her staff. A "log" is to be kept of the clinic's expenses, its reception, and approximate amount of rural childhood which it can touch in its journeyings.

THE FIRST TO RATIFY

On July 31 King George's assent was given to the German Peace Treaty and to the treaty which guarantees the protection of France by Great Britain and the United States against an unprovoked attack by Germany. They thus became law throughout the British Empire.

On July 21 the House of Commons voted to approve these treaties, as did the House of Lords on the following day. But this was not necessary. As in Japan, so in Great Britain, a treaty may be proclaimed by the Crown without the approval of either house of Parliament. France and Italy require the approval of both houses; the United States requires the approval of the Senate only.

The act of the British Parliament is historic in British annals. The two houses, it is true, did vote on the Prize Court Bill to give effect to the Declaration of London concerning the rules of sea warfare. It passed the Commons, although it was rejected by the Lords. But that was not a treaty, but an act of legislation.

Mr. Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, is a thoroughgoing democrat. He has always striven to strengthen the power of Parliament. Voluntarily he has

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created a new democratic precedent in England's unwritten Constitution, and has, through his triumph in Parliament, put his country "on the map" as the first of any to ratify the most epoch-making treaties of our time.

The submission of the Treaty for ratification to the British Parliament increases, we think, the danger of radical modifications by the American Senate. For if the Senate should add to or subtract from the Treaty by amendments, would not the British Parliament insist, as a result of the new power conferred upon it, that it should have the right of considering and approving or rejecting those amendments?

KULTUR AGAIN

WHEN several hundred men and women cheered the statement, made in the hall of the Deutsche Liederkranz in New York City a few weeks ago, that "the German spirit is not dead and never will die," and when the same speaker who made this statement further said that all men and women of German descent must do all in their power to bring "the German spirit, *Kultur*, and education to the American people and to the people of the whole world," America received notice that the war is not yet won. Nominally held to promote plans for helping starving people in Germany, this meeting was in fact a means for disseminating ideas against which this country has fought. It was one of many signs that what we have known as German propaganda is still a menace in America.

It seems easy for Americans to forget. Sometimes good nature is a vice, and good nature is an American characteristic. It was good nature that made our people slow to believe the reports of what the Germans were doing in Belgium in 1914. It was good nature that made our people dismiss as incredible the threats of the Germans to murder civilians and neutrals at sea. It was good nature that inclined our people to ignore as a fantastic dream the outspoken ambitions of the Germans to secure at the cost of their neighbors world trade and world domination. It is good nature now that tempts our people to forget these things, to treat the beaten foe as if he were nothing but a beaten foe, to take what is called a sportsmanlike attitude, to go more than half way—to be ready to go all the way—in getting back to the old relation of friendliness with the German and to let the German resume his old ways if he wants to.

The vice in all this is the vice of carelessness about truth and principle. If German *Kultur* was an evil thing last year when we were at war, it has not become a good thing now just because we have stopped fighting. If hyphenism was bad then, it is bad to-day.

America was not furious with things German because she was at war with Germany; she went to war with Germany because she had reason to be furious with things German. The German ideal set forth by Germany's leaders, defended by Germany's apologists, and acquiesced in by the German people, was the ideal of a state above all law, both international law and moral law. According to this ideal, murder, rape, torture, violation of the pledged word, treachery, disregard of the rights of men and women and children—in fact, anything to which Germans might resort to further the interests of their "old Fatherland"—was justified. According to this ideal, men who were citizens of the United States but who had German blood in their veins were justified in using their privileges as American citizens for Germany's profit. As long as any vestige of this ideal remains in America the victory which America sought in this war will not be complete.

German *Kultur* did not become extinct when Wilhelm went to Amerongen. The evil thing we call double allegiance or hyphenism did not cease to be evil with the signing of the armistice.

BABIES AND BOREDOM

THE signal failure of Adam and Eve to live up to the advantages of their maturity is a fact that should have been remembered by Mr. Samuel Butler before he wrote two books with the clear purpose of proving to Providence that he, Samuel Butler, would have been a better man if he could have been born grown up.

Samuel Butler's contention that the ignominy of an enforced childhood gives a bitter bias to a nascent soul otherwise sweet and upspringing is, however, not the worst charge to be made against the conventional processes of propagation; the real difficulty with having parents is that it is so hard to attain genial intercourse with any person whose baby you have been. Both parties to the transaction may do their valiant best to ignore the compulsory nature of their compact, but the resultant *gaucherie* often persists through life. That under the circumstances there should ever be any genuine comradeship should surprise us more than that the tendency, as shown by our own observation and by the past history of parenthood, is undoubtedly in the direction of shyness rather than of spontaneity.

As one studies the tendencies of parentage, both present and past, one observes that always opposing the comradeship possibility has been the ownership theory. Babies are born so small and helpless that it is natural for us to believe we own them, and perhaps we do, but the contention here made is that owning a child, and likewise owning a parent, is no way at all to enjoy him. A chattel cannot, in the nature of things, be companionable. Against the specious reasonableness of the ownership theory should be remembered the plain fact that human character is so skittish and incalculable that utter irresponsibility toward one's offspring seems sometimes to bring as good results as the most conscientious proprietorship.

Historical precedent, it must be admitted, pronounces in favor of the possessive attitude so emphatically that in the instances of Jephthah, Abraham, and Agamemnon the pity of the public has actually been solicited for the father rather than for the victim. The sentiment "it hurts me more than it hurts you" is of ancient origin. It is noteworthy that the mothers were never party to these famous sacrifices. Abraham had to slip away from Sarah, and Agamemnon had his own little after score to settle with Clytemnestra. The ownership theory has eaten so deep into the general conscience that parents of the past have been sanctioned in exercising authority even from the grave. Not to mention the whimsical will of Portia's papa, Hamlet and Orestes furnish conspicuous examples of paternal autocracy—pleasant, personable youngsters both, whose lives were ruined by the demands of dead fathers.

The real trouble with the ownership theory is that any ownership prevents intimacy. The business of being born entails so much after awkwardness that saddling the parent-child relationship with property rights in addition is more than companionship can survive. So long as birth continues to be the sole price of admission to this universe, not all the panaceas for moderating the penalties of propagation are so promising as simple forgetting. What vistas of joyous intercourse are instantly opened by the mere suggestion of ceasing to reform our parents and ceasing to bring up our children! Any other suggestions for ameliorating the parental relation are fallacious because, little as they are aware of it, both parents and children are infected by the traditional property principle. Nothing on earth is so burdened with obligation as the owning of anything, and yet solving parental troubles by eugenics implies a sense of responsibility that blackens the future with joylessness. Eugenics makes such a bugbear of a baby that it is impossible ever afterward to be friends with a person who once loomed so portentous in prospect. The roseate slogan "fewer and better babies" is fallacious; the fact is, the fewer babies people have, the more

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they worry about them. Perhaps our grandparents, who had no slogan, but whose theory and practice were more and merrier babies, got better results. The theory of fewer and better babies runs the risk of perpetuating the worst evils of ownership, for the fewer children you have, the more you will dominate them, thus making them boresome replicas of yourself; but if you have a dozen the chances are that some of them, at least, will have opportunity to do their own growing and develop into men and women whom any parent might find entertaining.

As the chief peril of democracy is mediocrity, so the chief peril of parenthood is boredom, and the most promising protection against both evils is letting a child be himself. It is strange that while there is nothing people dread so much as *ennui*, there is nothing they set about accomplishing so industriously. The best method by which parents may enjoy their children or children enjoy their parents is a genial and irresponsible letting alone.

After all, why should friendship have been so difficult to secure between parents and children? Perhaps because so few people have the bravery needed for comradeship. There is nothing that takes so much sheer intrepidity as letting people alone. Since every mother's son of us has had to suffer from all the awkwardness entailed by once having had to enter life more pitifully helpless than a blind kitten, the battle to attain individuality after such initial ignominy should enlist the utmost assistance of grown-ups rather than their too often active opposition. One agrees here with the contention of Mr. Samuel Butler, earlier mentioned; one dissents from him, however, in that he argues parental indifference for the sake of the child, whereas it is the parent who is benefited, being liberated from all the shackles of ownership and of *ennui*.

Of course there are children so obdurately dull that not all the letting alone in the world can make them amusing, but still parents who courageously refrain from bringing up their children may reasonably expect to produce blessings rather than bores.

RACE RIOTS IN CHICAGO

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM CHICAGO BY CHARLES W. HOLMAN

In last week's Outlook a special correspondent described the race riots of Washington, and here another correspondent describes the race riots of Chicago.

After reading the record of these two riots, particularly of the bloody affair in Chicago, it will be a bold Northerner who ventures to assume a "holier than thou" attitude towards the South.

The lessons to be drawn from these tragedies are easier to state than to apply. These lessons may be put in a few words.

One: It is the duty of the Government—city, State, and National—to prevent private war and punish the ringleaders of such riots as took place in Washington and Chicago without regard to race.

Two: We need a clearer understanding of the fundamental rights of citizenship. Chief among these is the right of the Negro equally with the white man to have his person, property, and family protected from every form of lawless violence. It must be clearly understood that this fundamental right of citizenship does not include a right to demand social fellowship. The right of choosing our own associates and of refusing companionship to those with whom we do not choose to foregather is as fundamentally a part of our democracy as the guarantee of personal protection.—THE EDITORS.

CHICAGO has just finished her first week of rioting between whites and Negroes. Already thirty-three people have lost their lives and more than three hundred have been injured. The death toll was slightly greater among the blacks, on Tuesday there being fifteen of them dead as against eleven whites. During this wild week mobs of whites pursued and beat and killed Negroes. Other mobs of Negroes pursued and beat and killed whites. From the upper windows of tenements, when darkness came, snipers picked off pedestrians or fired into squads of police and soldiers sent to bring order to the Black Belt. Armed bands in motor trucks dashed wildly up and down the streets, firing into houses. It required the combined efforts of three thousand regular policemen and six thousand State militia to bring the people back to the verge of common sense and establish a condition even remotely resembling order.

Even then, if rain had not come, it is doubtful if the armed forces could have stemmed the emotional tide that was inflaming Chicago's citizens. The week ended with a wholesale attempt to fire the city, more than one hundred dwellings being burned and three thousand people rendered homeless.

Complications, such as refusal of the icemen's union and the milk-drivers' union to deliver their commodities into the Black Belt and fear of delivery-men moving groceries that they would be assaulted and robbed, quickly reduced the Negro population to the verge of starvation and produced a ghastly condition in respect to infant feeding.

It became necessary to establish a dead line around the Black Belt, where 125,000 Negroes live, and prohibit movements in and out of either race, except under guard. Even then patrolling was unable to prevent mob action from breaking out, and at times the Loop, Chicago's main business district, was the scene of actions that disgraced the community. A mob of five hundred white men stormed the Palmer House, the oldest first-class hotel in the city, where Negroes have been employed for generations; Negroes going about their work were beaten and killed, and it finally became necessary for the owners of buildings either to discontinue elevator service or arrange for the quartering of their attendants under guard in the Loop.

The trouble broke out, as all such troubles do, with an incident of minor importance. It began at the Twenty-sixth Street bathing beach which until two years ago was patronized almost entirely by white people. With the advent of a great Negro population, brought in by the packers and other large producers, the Negro, in seeking recreation, began to flock to some of the South Side swimming places. At this particular beach there is a rope which extends into the water for some distance, and by common consent the whites bathed on one side of the rope while the Negroes bathed on the other. Yet it was only an agreement made effective by the fact that it might become unhealthy for a Negro to wander across the line.

On Sunday afternoon, July 27, a Negro boy swam beyond the line and climbed upon a raft from which the whites were accustomed to dive. A white man threw a stone which knocked the Negro off the raft, and he drowned. It is said that a policeman in the neighborhood of the scene failed to do his duty and make an immediate arrest of the white man. The occurrence made a profound impression upon the blacks, who went away to their own neighborhoods and a few hours later began retaliating by attacking individual whites. The situation quickly took on the aspect of armed mobs fighting each other in the open streets, and soon got beyond police control.

On Monday rioting reached its height, and before noon twenty-four known dead had been taken to the morgue. On Tuesday a mob of four thousand Negroes at Fifty-first and Federal Streets attacked small groups or individuals until dispersed. That same day the bodies of four Negroes were taken from "Bubbly Creek," the refuse canal of the stockyards, made famous by Upton Sinclair in his novel "The Jungle."

In their rioting neither whites nor blacks discriminated between women and men or youth and age. To each any person of the opposite color was hateful and must die.

The confusion of the city as a whole

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was heightened by a strike of surface and elevated street car employees which paralyzed traffic, not a single car being in operation from midnight Sunday until the early hours of the following Saturday. During this time the people adopted any method of conveyance possible, and many of them got into trouble by being forced to walk through the districts where rioting was in progress.

The trouble in Chicago in no way resembled outbreaks which have taken place in other cities, such as those in Washington and St. Louis. The Chicago situation arose primarily out of the housing situation and racial antipathy. There was no question of the Negroes taking white men's jobs, as the Negroes were brought up to Chicago to fill positions in which there was a great scarcity of available labor. The packers were primarily responsible for importing them, and it became necessary for the Negroes to live within walking or short traveling distance of their work. Accordingly, they filled up the South Side between Forty-third Street and Seventeenth Street, taking over almost entirely the section formerly occupied by Chicago's notorious "red light" district. The high wages which they received produced an immediate reaction upon them and made them ambitious to improve their standards of living. Accordingly, they began to spread out into the more select residential districts and produced consternation among the white people.

Troubled relations were first noticed two years ago, when the Negroes began to compose an important part of the street car and elevated railway traffic. It was noticed that they strung themselves through the trains or cars in such a way that it appeared to the white people as if they did it on purpose to force the whites to sit down beside them. This was the cause of much resentment, and it became apparent that trouble was not far distant. It is also said that many apartments were rented to Negroes by whites for "spite reasons."

It has been remarked time and again that certain classes of white people have not hesitated to grant the Negroes absolute social equality. In the Negro section white girls walked with Negro men and white men paraded the streets with Negro women. They even intermarried. There were a few notorious dance-halls operated by Negroes to which white men and women came and where mixed dancing was the rule. Also, for the first time in the Negroes' lives, they were catered to in a political way, and they became a powerful element in municipal politics. They elected to the City Council two of their own race.

This treatment gave the Negro population of Chicago an extraordinary opinion of its own importance and led it to claim more than the Northern people were willing to give.

Since the rioting, Negroes have been fleeing the city. Many have bought tickets for their old homes in the South; others have gone to Wisconsin and near-by cities to wait until the trouble blows over. Real estate dealers and rental agents have also reported that hundreds of cancellations by Negroes in select residential districts have been made, and that the blacks are recongregating within the Black Belt. Refusal of packing-house white operatives to work with the colored people has brought about a serious labor situation which Governor Frank O. Lowden and the packers have been trying to solve. Curtailment of packing-house operations, as the result of quarantining of the Negroes in their homes, has had an important bearing on the local market and made it necessary to restrict receipts of live stock at the yards.

Meantime a committee of forty-eight civic organizations, headed by Dr. Graham Taylor, has asked Governor Lowden to appoint a committee to make a comprehensive survey of the situation with a view to proposing a constructive plan for whites and blacks to dwell together in amity.

The problem is far from solved in Chicago, as the question of Negro re-employment is before the people of the city, and the matter of adjusting the dwelling areas and recreational space has not yet been met. A strong faction of whites are now clamoring for the institution of "Jim Crow" cars on the South Side elevated trains and reserved spaces for colored people on the surface lines.

It is a problem which must be solved, and in education lies the remedy. There must come tolerance and recognition on the part of both races that the Negro is entitled to all political and economic rights, but that social recognition is a personal matter.

MAKING OVER OUR ARMY

BY HAROLD T. PULSIFER

TWO things the United States should have learned from the great war:

1. The need of unifying our military service.

2. The need of basing that unification upon the broad foundation of universal military training.

We fought the Revolution largely with raw militia backed by a comparatively few long-term "Continentals" and assisted by professional troops from France. We fought the War of 1812 with raw militia, regulars, and volunteers, and the military history of much of that war is not pleasant reading. We fought the Mexican War with regulars and a goodly number of volunteers, handicapped, however, by a characteristically American short-term enlistment law which cost the Nation, according to Upton, some six thousand lives. We fought the war between the States with regulars and a vast army of volunteers and drafted men who learned the business of soldiering at untold cost upon the bloody field of battle. We fought the Spanish War with regulars and volunteers hastily raised and badly cared for. We fought the last round of the great war with regulars, a Federalized National Guard, and a multitude of selected men. These men (to our good fortune, but not our credit) received their training in modern warfare at the expense of thousands of lives and billions of treasure to those of our allies who had been holding the German horde since 1914. To those who are familiar with American military history little more than the names of our wars is needed to call to mind a long and painful story of unpreparedness, mistaken policy, and inefficient management.

May there never be another war, but if there is, may we be prepared to enter it with an American Army—an Army which knows no wide distinctions between militiamen and volunteers and professional soldiers, and which is adequately prepared in advance to perform the tasks with which it is confronted. If we ever enter any war with such an Army, it will be for the first time in our history as a Nation. It is the belief of many that the establishment of such an Army will usher in the longest period of righteous peace which the United States has yet enjoyed. As General Wood has so frequently pointed out, the captain of a ship when he puts to sea does not prepare his lifeboats to overcome the power of any particular storm. But if he is a wise captain he does prepare his lifeboats against all storms, which his experience as a seaman has taught him to expect as a contingent possibility of ocean travel.

Of what elements, then, should this unified and National Army be created? At the least it should contain the following:

1. A professional staff trained by practical experience in the handling of large bodies of troops and the technical problems of modern war.

2. A mobile force, constantly under arms, sufficient for police work within the United States, the garrisoning of our dependencies and such mandataries as may be assigned to the United States by the League of Nations, the protection of our harbor fortifications, and the formation of a nucleus of highly trained soldiers for the more technical branches of the service.

3. A large and highly organized First Reserve force of trained officers and men, capable of rapid mobilization in time of emergency.

4. A Second Reserve, organized in ter-

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ritorial units, of privates, non-commissioned officers, and officers, to be used as an immediate support of the First Reserve and as replacement troops in time of war.

"Well," asks the reader, "didn't we have most of this equipment before the present war? We had a professional staff, a mobile Army, the organized National Guard—with only the Second Reserve lacking to complete the picture."

Part of which is true and part of which is very far from the truth. We did not have a unified Army in any sense of the word. Our professional staff and our mobile army existed apart from the life of the Nation. Our National Guard was at its basis a State volunteer organization. The organized Second Reserve was, indeed, non-existent. Military service and the average citizen were strangers of the deepest dye.

"Well," asks the reader again (it is astonishing what convenient questions readers can be made to ask if properly egged on to their duty by a not too bashful author), "how are you going to create professional officers who are not part of an officer class, a professional army which is also a citizen army, and establish an organized reserve out of the remnants of the old National Guard and our untrained citizenry?"

The first step in such a process is the adoption of universal military training as a basis for the development of all the rest of our military establishment. Permit no soldier to enter the mobile army, the Reserve, or to secure any kind of a commission in any branch of the military service, who has not passed through the mill of universal military training. Once having passed through that mill, let every position in the military service be open to the qualified applicant. Working up from such a basis, the Army would be unified, made a part of the vital everyday life of the Nation, and both narrow, unprogressive military cliques and equally disastrous civilian indifference to the welfare of the service and its responsibilities would vanish like dew before a July sun.

This is not a "Be it enacted by the Congress of the United States" kind of article, all ready to turn over to the Legislature for embodiment in the law of the land, but perhaps the broad outline of the plan proposed can be given here with sufficient clearness. Like the soldiers in the proposed Army, let us start at the bottom and work our way up.

We will require, first, that every able-bodied male shall some time between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one receive six months' military training. Within the above age limits permit every potential soldier to choose whether he will serve his time in two camps of three months each in consecutive years or in two consecutive camps in one year. Upon receiving an honorable discharge after six months' service, turn over to this partially trained soldier his uniform and personal equipment and enroll him in the Second Reserve as a private, subject for ten years to an annual medical examination and an annual inspection of his equipment. At the time of his annual inspection he should be paid a sum which would probably not exceed five dollars. During his six months' active service he should of course receive the pay of a private in the Army of the United States. Let us see what further opportunities for service and development might exist for our citizen soldier under such a plan as is here proposed.

With an honorable discharge and a furlough to the Reserve in his pocket, three paths would be open to the more ambitious citizen and to the man desirous of further military duty.

The paths immediately open for the six months' soldier can be briefly enumerated as follows:

1. Enlistment at any time as a private in the mobile army for a term of not less than one year, promotion therein to the grade of sergeant to be made in accordance with ordinary military procedure.

2. Enlistment at any time as a private in the First Reserve for a term of not less than three years, promotion therein to the grade of sergeant to be made in accordance with ordinary military procedure. To stimulate enlistment every soldier in the First Reserve might be given an initial bonus, probably not exceeding one hundred dollars, together with full pay for the actual time spent at drill and during an annual training period of at least two weeks. The First Reserve would correspond in function with the National Guard as it existed before the war. In organization and responsibility, however, it would be entirely Federalized.

3. Further service in the National training camps would be accessible to any six months' soldier upon certain conditions. Upon the recommendation of his company commander, any man would be permitted to serve through one additional training-camp period of three months as an acting corporal, with the full pay of that grade. Upon the satisfactory completion of a total of nine months' training the graduated corporal would be again permitted, upon the recommendation of his company commander, to serve for an additional three months as an acting sergeant. At the end of nine and twelve months, respectively, the soldier would enter the Second Reserve as a corporal or a sergeant, receiving a proportionately larger bonus at the time of the annual inspection.

We have provided so far for the enlisted and non-commissioned personnel of an active mobile army and of a First and Second Reserve. But an officerless army is no army at all. A way must be found for the development of officers for all three branches of the citizen army which at the same time will be efficient and democratic as well as still further serving to unify the structure of the new Army. In the plan as already outlined provision is made for the selection of non-commissioned officers. The logical conclusion of such a plan is the selection of the commissioned personnel, both for the active and the Reserve army, from the non-commissioned personnel.

Let sergeants, who have, of course, already served as corporals and privates, be recommended by their company commanders for the privilege of attending training schools of various kinds for terms of not less than six months. Entrance even to West Point would be made conditional upon the candidate having won a sergeant's stripes in some branch of the service. Let commissions as lieutenants be granted only to soldiers who have fulfilled the requirements of these schools. And just as these schools would be open alike to sergeants of the active army or the First and Second Reserves, the graduates of these schools would in turn be eligible to receive commissions in any branch of the service. The officers of the Reserve and the active army would by this means discover a common basis of experience which would weld the entire Army into a unified instrument for warfare and protection. Moreover, officers developed by such a process would possess an appreciation of the mental attitude of the enlisted man which they could not otherwise gain, nor would there be any cleavage in ideas or ideals between the officers of the active army, as chosen under this system, and the great civilian population of the country. It is probable that some modification of the general rule might be advisable in the case of medical officers and reserve engineers; but aside from these two classes, the plan seems to the writer both feasible and just.

One thing remains which is necessary to the absolute unification of the system proposed. Measures should be taken to facilitate the transfer of both officers and men from the active to the Reserve armies and *vice versa*. An officer resigning from the active army should automatically become an officer of the Second Reserve, or should be enabled to continue his military duties by part-time service with the First Reserve. Enlisted men should be enabled to pass from the Second Reserve to the First Reserve or to the active army with a minimum of red tape.

In the system as suggested it is supposed that beyond the grade of second lieutenant, promotions would be made on the basis of seniority, plus drastic tests for efficiency. The officers of the new Army (both active and Reserve) should be given every opportunity to attend schools constantly throughout their military career as well as to command bodies of troops commensurate, at the very least, with the commission held. Brigadiers who have never commanded more than a depleted regiment must be unknown in our new Army, and captains and colonels must have more than infrequent opportunity to try themselves out in command of units larger than are usually assigned to their respective ranks. The creation of a Nation-wide training-camp system would certainly give to officers of the active army and also of the Reserve opportunities for self-training and devel-

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opment which have never existed in time of peace within the United States. The testimony of officers who developed the early Plattsburg training camps as to the professional benefit to themselves of the training work to which they were assigned is an earnest of what might be expected from the adoption of a system of universal training.

This present article makes no claim to be an exhaustive and detailed plan for an American military establishment, nor does it make any great claim for originality. It is a plea for the recognition of a general principle, and not a brief for the adoption of any particular plan. Nothing has been attempted but the presentation in the simplest possible form of one possible method for the development of our military man power in accordance with a system in which shall be incorporated the best elements of our present organization, certain features of the Swiss and other systems, and some of the lessons of experience for which our Nation has paid in full upon a thousand bloody battlefields of the past.

WILL HAYS AND THE HUMAN SPIRIT IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

In 1915 Senator Davenport, during a trip across the continent, wrote for The Outlook an article entitled "The Light Breaking Over Standpat Indiana." Mr. Davenport had come upon the plans, full of inspiring promise, which were then in process of being worked out for the political reconstruction of Indiana. The human personality at the center of the plans was one Will H. Hays, the present highly efficient Republican National Chairman. In 1916 Mr. Hays fulfilled his plans for Indiana in a campaign which amounted to a political revolution in the State. In 1917 he was made Republican National Chairman as the result of extraordinary merit.—THE EDITORS.

WILL HAYS is one of the men you simply cannot write about unsympathetically, and I do not know that I can write about him impartially. He is such a lovable personality. Every one who comes in contact with him seems to be his friend. If this is so, it is largely because he has led both politically and humanly an unusually unselfish life. Certainly no one in the political history of his own State has ever been able to bring to his aid more supporters and whole-hearted lieutenants than this slight-statured genuine gentleman from Indiana. Unselfishness and a disposition generously to proffer credit where credit to others is due are largely responsible for the political success which has made him famous.

But his cordial nature does not prevent him from being canny and practical. He has come up through the school of experience. Law and politics have from the beginning been with him indefatigably intermingled. He was admitted to the bar on the day he was twenty-one years of age, having practiced previously with the consent of the Court. He was elected Republican precinct committeeman before he was twenty-one, and from 1904 to 1908 was chairman of the Republican committee of his county and a member of the Indiana Republican Advisory Committee.

During the campaign of 1908 he was chairman of the Speakers' Bureau of the State Committee. This was the Taft campaign, and Hays corralled so efficiently all of the party's leading orators for "time" in Indiana during the closing month that when October came the National leaders found, to their consternation, that Indiana had effected a corner on all Republican oratorical talent of National caliber. The result was that men of great political prominence were under the necessity of making pilgrimages to Indianapolis to plead with young Hays to let go some of his corralled orators in the interest of the salvation of the elect in other commonwealths.

Early in 1914 he was chosen Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Indiana, at a time when the fortunes of his party were at an exceedingly low ebb. In 1912 the Republicans had finished a very poor third in the commonwealth of Indiana. In 1914 Hays pulled them through almost to victory. In 1916 he was re-elected State Chairman, and conducted the most brilliant campaign in the country. Indiana at that time was Democratic from top to bottom; the local government, the State Capitol, both houses of Congress, were manned by Democrats under the notorious Taggart régime. And Taggart himself was United States Senator. The Republicans failed in the Nation, but there was never any doubt about Indiana. The organized prearrangement of Republican victory there produced a result as certain as the precession of the equinoxes. The political situation in Indiana was exactly reversed by the election. Everything became Republican from top to bottom—State ticket, United States Senators, nine out of thirteen Congressmen, all of whom had been Democratic.

In June, 1896, young Hays was a mere lad. As a reward for excellent preliminary academic studies which he had just completed, Hays's father took him to the Republican National Convention at St. Louis to see McKinley nominated for the Presidency. The boy in short trousers manifested marked interest in the proceedings of the Convention. A friend of Hays told me the other day that not long ago, when cleaning out an old desk in the law office of himself and his now lamented father, at the home in Sullivan, Indiana, Hays found an envelope filled with clippings from St. Louis papers describing the incidents of the McKinley Convention. Across the envelope in his father's handwriting was this inscription: "To Master Willie Hays, with the hope that he will always take a citizen's interest in politics." Twenty-two years after the inscription was written, in the same hotel in St. Louis where he and his father had watched the maneuvers surrounding the proceedings of the McKinley Convention, Will Hays, by unanimous vote of the Republican National Committee, was selected as the undisputed National organizer and mentor and guide of his party.

He is generally regarded as the best practical leader of organization that the Republican party has ever had. I do not think any party ever had a better one in this country. Or ever needed one more. When the ruling Republican dynasty in 1910 and 1912 trampled under foot the sensible idealists, the men with feet on the ground but faces to the future, the Republican party lost the human touch. This blind dynasty could see in the mighty Dolliver only a cantankerous "insurgent," in Roosevelt only a lover of self and power. And the masses of Americans, especially of young Americans, who had truer vision and knew better, would have none of such leadership.

The Old Guard of Republicanism entirely failed to understand and conciliate the younger generation of America, especially failed to understand and conciliate the young and daring spirit of the West.

Even the North American Indians had junior councils of young men, whose new and ingenious ideas were eagerly listened to and deliberated upon by the councils of the old men of the tribes. But the Old Guard in the 1910–12 days checked even this sound aboriginal instinct, and affronted again and again the younger generation of Republicanism and the great younger section of America bounded by the Pacific and the Mississippi.

Hays is bringing Republicanism slowly back into touch with common men. He is even mellowing measurably many Old Guardsmen. He has such extraordinary tact that he can do it without using a club. But the task of unifying and revivifying Republicanism has been no easy one. And it remains to be seen if the crest of difficulty is yet passed.

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WILL H. HAYS
Chairman of the Republican National Committee

But the delicate touch of Hays's master hand has been felt in many a complicated State tangle—in California, in Michigan, in Wisconsin, and in many another. Always quiet, never offending, never dominating, but always winning.

And in Washington what a depressing maze to travel through! But Gillett is Speaker, and that is something. And the Republicans will ratify, most of them with and perhaps some of them without reservation! But there will be no hopeless recalcitrancy, no abysmal asininity! No doubt Hays deserves some credit for that. And Root some also.

Hays's success in welding the broken fragments of his party into unity and fighting strength has been remarkable, and the secret of it is that neither faction has doubted his utter sincerity. To the liberals Hays seems a liberal. The best the Old Guard had to offer after the revolution of 1912 was "a light in the window for thee, brother," a pat on the shoulder, and kind words pending the election returns; at least no harsh words. But the Old Guardsmen never understood what 1912 was all about, anyway. Hays understands. And so he keeps still about it, except to say: "Assimilation, and not elimination, is the policy of the Republican party, and there are no yesterdays in Republican politics. We have work to do for the good of the country, and it takes us all to do it. And I insist that all who are engaged in this work are entitled to the same consideration—the man who has not always voted with us and the man who has always voted with us because he may not have had any reason for doing otherwise."

To the conservative Hays seems a conservative. And I think he has both qualities—liberal and conservative—living and working in him side by side. He *is* eager to step forward, but not too fast. A favorite quotation of his is a statement which former President Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, once made in a lawsuit that was being tried in Hays's home town of Sullivan: "The length of the step is not so important as the direction in which it is taken." But when you put him to the test, in the inner chamber with party associates, in determining plans or expressions of party policy, Hays's only question is, "Is it right?" If after full discussion the answer is, "Yes," then momentary expediency never troubles Hays. He has never hesitated to take advanced ground if the position squared with what was determined to be right. He has been outspoken in word and indefatigable in deed for the effective prosecution of the war. And now that the war is over he is as eager for his party not only to look forward, but to step forward. He is no reactionary. He does not intend to wait for the torch of the Bolshevik to illumine darkly for him the pathway of human progress. He is sound about the safeguarding of production and the wise protection of property right and of men of initiative and management in America; but he has declared also for broader social legislation, for the welfare of labor and the representation of labor in the councils of the Nation.

All men seem to look alike to Hays. From the beginning of his career he has been able to approach greatness with the same ease with which he is able to approach the less highly circumstanced. In a conversation with a friend of the Republican National Chairman, Hays's father once said that he himself had been handicapped in his career by an abashment that at times was embarrassing. "I early determined, if possible," said the elder Mr. Hays, "so to train my boys that they would not be handicapped in this respect, as I have been." Hays's friends are of the opinion that his father, in his case at least, succeeded admirably. And without sacrificing genuine modesty either.

Hays is a graduate of Wabash College, a Mason, a Knight of Pythias, an Elk, and a Presbyterian. He is still under forty, with a working quality and an enthusiasm that are contagious and boundless, although where physically these qualities have such deep rootage no man knoweth. In his native State they say that it is not recorded that he has made a speech since entering public life without using somewhere in his discourse these words: "Things do not happen, they are brought about." He first attracted attention in Indiana when he acquired the reputation of being the only man in the State who could dictate to two stenographers and talk over two telephones at the same time. His achievements to date indicate that he holds the belief that nothing is impossible; that energy, enthusiasm, intelligence, and resourcefulness are capable of moving mountains.

He has the unique and enviable and difficult distinction of being able to be at once thoroughly loyal both to a political party and to his country. He is another illustration of the profound truth that human nature is the core of politics; that true courtesy and a practical sense of right are political assets of great importance; and, above all, that even in politics it is gentleness which maketh great.

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THE NEW NATION OF ASIA[1]

SIBERIA'S ASPIRATIONS FOR INDEPENDENCE—KOLCHAK AND THE OMSK GOVERNMENT—THE PEOPLE AND POSSIBILITIES OF THE NEW NATION

BY CHARLES W. HOLMAN

WHY SIBERIA WAS AN EASY VICTIM TO THE BOLSHEVIKI

THERE may be some who cannot understand how, when the majority of Russian people in Siberia did not desire Bolshevism, it was possible for the Red Guard to take the country without any notable resistance. They will also marvel that the Lenine forces were also swept back with almost as much ease, while the body of the people did not participate in the struggle one way or another. It is just as inexplicable to understand why large numbers of our people took no fighting interest in our Revolutionary War against England and at all times a certain group traded both with the enemy and the American forces. When we ask why it is that the Russians in Siberia did not to a man rise up and form a voluntary army, we must remember that when the colonies had nearly three million population the largest army General Washington was ever able to muster was less than twenty thousand men.

The Siberian position is perhaps easier to explain. The country was sparsely settled, and fully eighty per cent of its settlers consisted of an unlettered farming population. There were large numbers of poorly paid, unskilled workmen in towns and cities, and thousands of homeless soldiers doing nothing at all. German, Austrian, and Magyar war prisoners were numerous, poorly guarded, mixing with the people, imbibing and imbuing radical doctrines, ready to join any insurrectionary movement that would tear down their ancient enemy Russia.

With the principal towns and cities along the railway, we can see how easy it was for the Red Guard to bring in arms, machine guns, and munitions and take possession of them, thus dominating the country.

A large percentage of the working classes in the cities rallied to the cause of the extremists and a certain percentage of political and criminal prisoners formed nuclei within the country. We also know that many Russian Jews, long persecuted by the Russian upper classes, joined in the movement either from personal motives of revenge or in pursuit of fanatical theories for reconstructing Russia in harmony with Semitic dreams. Among them were a number of returned Jews who had lived in America and become impregnated with I. W. W. philosophy. Then, lastly, we must admit into the explanation the peculiar Russian temperament—a temperament partly racial, partly the result of environmental conditions.

[1] See Mr. Holman's first article on Siberia in The Outlook for August 6.—THE EDITORS.

Nine-tenths of the Russian people were just up from virtual slavery; they had been freed in the same year that the Negroes of America were liberated. But liberation did not mean that they received new characters, or that the upper classes changed their attitude toward them, or that democracy would spring forth full-fledged among them. It did mean that they were no longer attached to the soil to be sold as chattels with it; but they were still attached to the soil by virtue of their occupation. They still received directions from overhead, and they still had the police among them to suppress free speech, to prevent their forming popular organizations, and to keep them intellectually submerged. The Russians in Siberia reflected some of this, naturally; for peoples do not change all their attitudes when they emigrate. But they possessed it in lesser degree than their brethren of European Russia.

Repression from above had its effect on the Russian character. We must also consider the climatic effects of too much darkness for wholesome thinking, too much cold for fresh-air types of living, too little recreation for the body, too much of house living, conversation, solitude, and brooding, and too little opportunity for action. The environment produced in the "intelligentsia" an intensely subjective type of mind capable of high imaginative flights but with a paralyzed will. In the lower classes it produced merely indifference and much drinking of vodka.

Then the Revolution of 1917 threw the Czar's dominions into a popular Government. We all know what happened in Russia; but few know what happened in Siberia. The same wind that blew the Imperial Government away swept over Siberia to produce principally uneasiness and fear. With but few exceptions, every Russian in the Asiatic domain was glad—glad beyond expression; and everybody, finding himself now free to talk, did nothing else but that for a while. Nobody knew what to do, and very few people did anything. The peasants and the workmen for a time interpreted this freedom as an invitation not to work.

All recognized the right of the Kerensky Government to rule; for somebody had to rule, according to the way the Russian had been brought up to view life. Then matters adjusted themselves somewhat, and Siberia went forward in a most promising way, taking advantage of certain opportunities, like that given in the Kerensky co-operative law, to strengthen local institutions. Then the turn of time threw the Provisional Government into the discard and raised Lenine and Trotsky on high.

The first reaction of the common people in Siberia, as nearly as I could get it, was to regard Lenine and Trotsky as twin Moses who could strike the rock of society and produce drink, or wave their staffs and manna would grow. Of course such things don't happen; but tall promises had been extended, and there were many who believed in the promises with all their hearts.

Ardent ones joined the Bolsheviki, indifferent ones went out and tilled their fields, and the comfortable ones barred their doors and buried their valuables. Only a few bucked up to resist; they were principally officers who had served their country against the Germans and felt that their lives were worth giving in an effort to save their country from the acts of ignorance.

The Bolsheviki pressed in and took Siberia in a very short time. While in power the heralded acts of violence and the usual acts of pathetic ignorance took place. How much can be attributed to the Bolsheviki and how much to the hoodlums who joined them will probably never be known. This much is certain, that, before they undertook to operate the machinery of wealth production they had seized, the Bolshevist leaders considered it necessary as the first step in their programme to "divide up" all the wealth in sight and live upon it as long as the dividing was good. They looted the state treasury, conscripted deposits, requisitioned stocks from merchants, demanded provisions of peasants, and placed their own leaders in all the salaried offices of the Government.

As one reviews the drama enacted in Siberia, it becomes apparent that the Revolution did not affect that country as it did Russia, for the institutions subject to change were not at all similar. The acts described were about the worst, aside from certain acts of extreme personal violence and the depredations of footpads, due to the letting loose of criminals from jails and the release of restraint surrounding a certain type that always hovers on the borderland of criminality.

They turned over to the workers the few productive industrial plants, but could not turn over to the peasants the land, because the peasants already had their land for life, and in Siberia the peasants consider that lifetime occupancy without having to pay for it is much better than ownership. Bolshevism over there meant simply this: that the Red Guard took possession of the offices and the good things of life; terrorized the other classes into submission; kept them in submission by refusing the right of

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franchise; and repeated their acts until commercial ruin fell upon the country and the wheels of industry stopped.

During this epoch the Bolsheviki in Siberia did not pay much attention to the rights of the Bolsheviki in Russia. They did not hesitate to rob the railways of shipments bound for Moscow. They refused to let persons passing out of Siberia, where there was a surplus of food, carry enough food with them to sustain them on their journeys into Russia. They armed the war prisoners who would join their colors, employed Chinese mercenaries to keep their forces strong, and were making themselves thoroughly obnoxious when the Czechoslovak army and the assisting White Guard Russian forces swept down from Vladivostok, fell upon them, and cleared them out of the cities and towns. In every city there were additions to the White Guards, and great rejoicing that the liberators brought with them the news that the people could once more form and conduct their own local governments.

READJUSTMENT FOLLOWING BOLSHEVISM

In most of the recaptured cities the Czechs left small garrisons to serve as a moral stimulus to the people. But the people themselves needed very little stimulus to get busy and try to readjust themselves and their institutions to a new period of living in which good government and work were to be their ideals. How small a force to maintain order was needed may be seen in the case of Krasnoyarsk, which I visited in October and November of 1918. This city of about sixty-three thousand inhabitants is located in what was thought to be a danger spot of Bolshevism. Yet a garrison of twelve Czechoslovaks, approximately fifty English soldiers, and a Russian garrison of less than three hundred Cossacks were sufficient to maintain order. The city was going full blast as to motion pictures, although almost every store was shut because there was nothing to sell. The stores that opened closed early, and about the only business being done was by little sausage shops, drug stores, and the municipal and co-operative stores. Tailors, however, were more than three weeks behind in their orders—remaking old clothes in most cases.

The municipal government had undertaken to bring in foodstuffs and was experiencing great difficulty on account of the irregular deliveries of the railway and the handicaps brought about by the currency situation. The ruble had declined to one-fifth its former purchasing power and nobody knew whether the old money would ever be worth anything, because about seventy billion rubles of Siberian paper money had been put into circulation in European Russia. Prices of commodities had risen to painful heights,[1] and such commodities as could be had were few indeed. I paid $1.70 per pound for sugar and $2 per pound for tea in that city. Bread grains had risen from 12 cents per pood (36 pounds) to 97.5 cents plus freight and other charges at wholesale. Rubber overshoes sold for $12 per pair new and $3.50 per pair second hand. Sleigh and carriage drivers asked from 50 cents to $1.50 for short-distance drives, but in Omsk they were asking as high as $2 to take one a two-mile drive, while meals in hotels averaged from $2 to $3 if one felt satisfactorily fed. Such prices represented an unprecedented advance in the cost of living in a country where food had always been cheap.

The peasants had long since gotten over their love of "dividing up" on the Bolshevist plan, or on any plan, for that matter, and were refusing to sell freely of their stocks which were in abundance in that particular province. They preferred to make a moonshine type of vodka which would bring to them six or seven times the price that their wheat or rye would net when sold for foodstuffs. They had, it was said, more paper money than they knew what to do with, and would no longer part with grain unless they were assured at least a part payment in kind. The peasants desired more agricultural implements, stoves, wagons, harness, machinery of many types, woolen materials, shot and powder for hunting. None of these things could the people in Krasnoyarsk give to them for local supplies. So the municipality was forced to send into Altai Province, where peasants were more willing to sell from their larger stores.

Such troubles the Russians met with a stoicism and a certain degree of optimism. In the same way they viewed their dilapidated railway, their wrecked bank accounts, and many another predicament of which the stranger would not hear. They set about rebuilding with strong hearts that won the sympathy and admiration of those who were sent among them to study or to help in their work of reconstruction.

HOW KOLCHAK BECAME DICTATOR

Matters made progress during the summer and fall. Meantime various factions were claiming leadership and governmental authority. For a time there was much confusion of authority and jealousy of cliques. The country was too big and too unacquainted with itself to hold a popular election; the situation was too critical to trust to a ballot when eighty per cent of the people could not have read and would not have known how to mark one. But it was not too big for them to select delegates to represent them. And then there was a certain tacit acceptance of various persons known to be public-spirited and men of capacity—just as in America certain public men have always been molders of public opinion even to the time of their death. So, with a speed that was notable and a reversal of policies that was humorous, just as the early efforts of the factions in the State of Oklahoma had in them elements of humor, governments arose and governments fell; leaders arose and leaders were rejected.

Finally the situation sifted down to two rival factions in the west. One faction, calling itself the All Siberian Government, consisted of a committee of five. Annexed to that committee was a more or less representative parliamentary body called the Siberian Duma. This Duma, or Parliament, met at Tomsk and passed many resolutions, and its members drew some salary. Also in Omsk there was a group calling themselves the All Russian Government. The latter group did some fine-fingered work and succeeded in getting the All Siberian Government to cede over its rights and powers. It also persuaded the Duma to go out of existence. It then called Admiral Kolchak to the job of "Governor-in-Chief of Russia and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy."

KOLCHAK'S INTERESTING CAREER

At this moment Admiral Alekseï Vasilietch Kolchak is the central figure around whom the Siberians build their hopes of establishing a stable government. He is forty-seven years of age, a man of great personal magnetism, a brilliant talker, and a convincing orator. After the Russo-Japanese War Kolchak, with the rank of a captain, built himself into a prominent position in the public eye by work accomplished at the headquarters of the Naval Ministry. His bravery and excellent use of his head in outwitting the Germans both in Baltic and Black Sea operations earned for him a name in naval history. He has traveled extensively and knows the United States and its institutions very well. He is said to be a great admirer of American methods; certainly his policy in connection with the railway has shown him to be a man capable of utilizing many agencies to achieve the re-establishment of a government in Russian territory.

KOLCHAK'S GOVERNMENTAL POLICY

As will be seen by the title conferred upon its chief, the Kolchak Government of Omsk has been aspiring to solve the entire Russian problem. Perhaps it will be able to do so, but it seems hardly probable that the Admiral can gather, from among fifteen million people who are reluctant to respond to military service but welcome all manner of peaceful trade development, an army of sufficient magnitude to wipe out Bolshevism in Russia, where there are one hundred and sixty million people under the shadow of Lenine.

It does seem reasonable that the Admiral may succeed in taking and holding all of the mineral territory in the Ural Mountains, and thus insure to the Siberian side the immense platinum and gold and precious stone wealth that those mountains contain. It does also seem probable that the Kolchak Government, by continuing its present policy of encouraging trade development and farm production, not touching the personal liberty question very strongly, will grow in strength, win the confidence of the

[1] Prices in general rose 700 to 1,000 per cent on the par value of the ruble; but the ruble fell to one-fifth its pre-war value. Metallic money had long since disappeared from circulation.

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Allies, and succeed eventually in putting Siberia, at least temporarily, into the family of autonomous nations.

One of Kolchak's first acts was to abolish food regulations and Government monopolies of food. He has also authorized the re-establishment of the vodka industry by the Government as a means of reducing the waste now general in country districts from illicit distilling, and because it is thought that the sale of good vodka at reasonable prices to the people will cause them to buy it instead of buying from the peasants. This will automatically do away with illicit distilling except for home use.

The policy of the Kolchak Government is to encourage the re-establishment of all forms of private trade and to aid the development of the nation's resources. Its success in doing some of these things, particularly in securing aid from the French and English in military preparations and from the Americans in guard duty and railway operation, has promoted a general confidence in that Government.

Up to the present Kolchak's policy in regard to personal liberty has been lenient, except as to armed disturbers of the peace and a few deportations of political rivals, such as Aksentiev and his three confrères in the All Siberian Government, who were arrested four days after the group appointed the Admiral Dictator.

The body of the Russians in Siberia are beginning to experience the fruits of a few months' peace and a fairly strong, liberal Government. They do not want to go back to the way of managing things under Bolshevism; neither do they care for a resumption of monarchical power. Kolchak will succeed in knitting together his countrymen in Asia if he remembers and caters to the psychology of the situation.

AMERICAN OPERATION OF SIBERIAN RAILWAYS

Kolchak's Minister of Transportation, Mr. Ostrougoff, has served his country well in putting through Russian consent and approval for Allied operation of the railway. By the terms of the agreement, Minister Ostrougoff heads the commission which decides general policy matters; but the active management of the road has been given to John F. Stevens, a celebrated American railway engineer, who headed the American Railway Mission to Russia two years ago, and has remained in Manchuria and eastern Siberia since then as the director of a corps of American railway experts instructing the Russians of the Chinese Eastern Railroad.

Assisting Mr. Stevens is Colonel George H. Emerson, who until he went to the Orient was the active manager of the Great Northern Railway system. These experts will serve as the nucleus of a great organization that will be necessary in putting the Trans-Siberian line on a sound footing. They face no easy task; the rolling stock is in bad condition, more than fifty per cent of the engines are disabled, and the roadbed needs considerable work done. Discipline also will vex them; for the spirit of the men has been killed somewhat by the inability of the Siberian Government to meet the payroll and the general disorder that has prevailed.

The present arrangement will give precedence, of course, to the movement of military supplies needed by the Omsk Government, but transportation facilities will improve very rapidly, and all look forward to a freer movement into the country of requirements and greater movement outward of raw materials. Mr. Stevens's first act preliminary to taking over the road was to send a train-load of needed foodstuffs into eastern Siberia for free distribution to the needy loyal workers on the line.

OUR BIG BROTHER POLICY IN SIBERIA

In other ways America has put into operation the Big Brother policy of friendly assistance. We have set up in Vladivostok a Siberian branch of the War Trade Board. This Board was badly needed, both as a relief agency and as a stabilizer of trade between America and the Russians in Siberia. It has been gathering considerable information about the reliability of Siberian trading concerns, and it acts as a friendly agent between American and Russian trading interests. Lately deals in commodities involving over $20,000,000 have been consummated with Siberian co-operative societies and sanctioned by our Government officials.

The Red Cross has done a splendid work in connection with relief, and has extended its functions to include providing municipal governments with needed hospital supplies and medicines. Its head in Siberia, Dr. R. B. Jeusles, of Tokyo, is now in this country asking for greatly enlarged appropriations to expand the work being done in territory recaptured from the Bolsheviki. Agents of the Y. M. C. A. have carried out plans for relieving refugees, distributing money and goods among them. The Committee on Public Information has had representatives who distributed telegraphic news of the outside world to the Siberian papers and supplied lecturers and literature in Russian on American institutions.

Our consular officials, especially stationed or assigned to traveling positions there, have been in close touch with the local and general officials and many times have been approached for advice; their policy has always been one of refraining from interfering with internal matters, but of giving information whenever requested.

The United States Army is guarding the railway line to preserve the only avenue of relief. Our troops in Siberia are carrying out a policy of non-interference with internal questions; but their presence serves to give the Russians a feeling of confidence in the stability of civil life and encourages them to go about building up a law-abiding commonwealth in the new country. In time all Allied assistance can be abandoned; but until then occupation is desired by the thinking Russians.

BUILDING FOR A GREATER FUTURE

During the war Siberian methods of doing business changed radically with the growth of municipal supply stores and the rapid development of the co-operative movement, whose stores sprang up as the stores of private merchants went out of business. Each city now operates several food stores, and almost every village has its co-operative society. The co-operatives have availed themselves of an opportunity and spread with great rapidity, forming into provincial federations which deal through central national organizations. In Siberia there are three great strings of co-operatives, each having a distinct field, but all overlaping somewhat with the others. The Union of Siberian Co-operative Unions is typically a consumers' organization. It has headquarters in Novonikolaievsk and claims to be the central purchasing agency for 2,381,000 members and about 1,100,000 additional patrons. This organization is modeled after the co-operative societies of England, and the Novonikolaievsk office is worked on a plan very similar to that by which the Co-operative Wholesale Society of Great Britain is conducted. It now buys in wholesale quantities for its membership and acts as national sales agent for the sale of certain products.

Likewise the Association on Shares of the Siberian Co-operative Credit Societies, which also has headquarters in Novonikolaievsk, has built up a tremendous business in purchasing agricultural requirements for its membership and in furnishing short-time credit. The third member of the string is the Union of Siberian Creamery Artels, mentioned last week; the artels embrace a half million farm families.

To combat the growth of the co-operatives, a number of trade associations have formed, and in some cases merchants plan to establish their own co-operative wholesales in order to get the benefit of large purchasing power.

Both private and co-operative organizations have got in touch with the American War Trade Board at Vladivostok and will welcome the establishment of business relations with American concerns.

There is something inspiring in the spectacle of a people joining hands to lift themselves from ruin and desolation into a newer, finer civilization. The fight to come back and come up brings out the essential qualities of manhood and womanhood in a people. It was so in the rebuilding of a new South from the ruins of the old South; it will be so in France and Belgium and in far-away Siberia, where the white torch of civilization is burning bright.

Now their cities show ruin and stagnation and the people wear threadbare

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garments. But their hearts are strong and their hopes high. They know that relief is soon to come. What does it matter to them if bread is high and sugar scarce and tea hard to secure? Their forebears faced hardships and they also have known what it was to suffer worse things. Every day brings them news on the brighter side, and their needs will soon be met.

So they are preparing for the battle with the future.

THE REUNION OF RUMANIANS

AN AUTHORIZED INTERVIEW WITH M. BRATIANO, RUMANIAN PREMIER AND FIRST DELEGATE TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE, AND M. VAÏDA, TRANSYLVANIAN MINISTER IN THE RUMANIAN GOVERNMENT AND ONE OF THE DELEGATES TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE, BY GREGORY MASON, STAFF CORRESPONDENT OF THE OUTLOOK

ALTHOUGH Germany was a much more formidable foe than Austria-Hungary, the task of making peace with the latter country is in some ways more difficult than arranging a settlement with Germany. The disruption of the vast Austro-Hungarian Empire has meant the appearance of a number of heretofore inconspicuous national groups clamoring for independence or other privileges before the Peace Conference. Of all the Allied nations, none perhaps is more affected by this centrifugal movement from old Austria-Hungary than Rumania. Rumania comes before the Peace Conference not only on behalf of the inhabitants of Rumania, but also in the interests of the populations of Moldavia, ravished by Austria one hundred and fifty years ago, and renamed Bukowina; of the region along the Danube west of Rumania and north of Serbia, called the Banat; and of Transylvania and of the regions of Maramouresh and of Crishana. The Rumanian delegates are also speaking for Bessarabia, taken from Rumania by Russia in 1878.

Of all these newly found children Rumania is perhaps most interested in the Transylvanians, by virtue of her close racial and historical connection with them. It was not surprising, therefore, when I went the other day to the headquarters of the Rumanian Peace Delegation at 77 Avenue des Champs Elysées, Paris, to find the Minister from Transylvania, M. Vaïda, by the side of the Chief of the Rumanian Mission and Premier of Rumania, M. Bratiano, who had given me an appointment for an interview. Madame Bratiano was there, and also M. Nicolas Misu, Rumanian Minister to London and at present a member of the Rumanian Peace Delegation. M. Bratiano is a big dark man with the polished air of a man whose life has been spent in diplomatic circles. Both Madame Bratiano and M. Vaïda are above medium size. Neither of them are notably large, however, and M. Misu is a bit smaller than M. Vaïda. Yet the whole four exhaled an atmosphere of bigness. Bigness and self-reliance. Polished bigness and polished self-reliance. They had in a noteworthy degree the healthy, vigorous alertness commonly found in people who have lived much out of doors, combined with the restraint and polish which come from long familiarity with the *salons* of society. "If these are typical Rumanians, I want to go to Rumania," I said to myself.

"I want you to talk with M. Vaïda," said M. Bratiano, when we had all sat down. "He speaks for Transylvania. You know we feel about our union with Transylvania in the way you Americans must have felt when Texas joined your Union after her war with Mexico."

"We Transylvanians," M. Vaïda began, "are a very old people. Our racial stock is identical with that of the Rumanians. In the fifteen hundred Hungarian administrative divisions of Transylvania, properly so called, and in the seven Hungarian comitats, which are properly included with it, there are altogether, even by the Hungarian statistics, 2,505,958 Rumanians, or 54 per cent of the whole, and 1,092,719 Magyars, or 23½ per cent of the whole. But there is no doubt that these statistics underestimate the relative strength of the Rumanian element. The right figures are: for Rumanians, 2,990,000, or 62½ per cent, and for the Hungarians 700,000, or 15 per cent, if we do not count the Szeklers, who are of Magyar origin and who live in the southeast angle of Transylvania. They number about 450,000, but are completely surrounded by Rumanians, on whom the Szeklers are completely dependent.

"So the dominating element in Transylvania has remained genuinely Rumanian in spite of all invasions of Magyars, Germans, and minor tribes. These Rumanian Transylvanians have never abandoned the struggle for national liberty. At the beginning of the recent war many thousands of them refused to fight under the Austro-Hungarian flag and fled to Rumania, where they formed Transylvanian regiments in the Rumanian army. As soon as the Austro-Hungarian Government collapsed deputations of Rumanians from all the comitats of Transylvania and the Banat, a gathering altogether of more than a hundred thousand persons, came together in a National Assembly on the first day of last December and demanded the union of all the Rumanians of Transylvania and other parts of Hungary with Rumania.

"I have come to Paris to plead for these people, these countrymen of mine, before the leaders of the great Allied Powers. What we want is local autonomy and union with Rumania."

When M. Vaïda had ceased speaking, M. Bratiano said:

"I hope you appreciate the significance of what my colleague has just said about the Banat. Rumanians were the first settlers in that country, where they have lived for many centuries. They are there to-day to the number of 600,000. The Germans there, who are mere colonists who arrived in the eighteenth century or later, number only 400,000, and there are about 300,000 Serbs who emigrated there in the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. It has been suggested that the Banat could be divided so as to unite the eastern part with Rumania and to give the western part to Serbia. But this could not be done. The Banat is not a mere geographical expression. It cannot be cut up like a beefsteak. The mountainous eastern part, which the Serbians are willing to let us have, and the flat western part, which they claim for themselves, are dependent on each other. The plain feeds the mountaineers and gives them a refuge in winter. On the other hand, the mountains supply the people of the plains with timber and minerals. By rivers and canals through the plain go the products of the eastern mountains to the Theiss and the Danube. The division of the Banat would leave the Rumanians with the upper part of the rivers only, while depriving them of free access to the Danube and the Theiss.

"But, above all, it is unwise to cut up the Banat because of the way in which the different racial elements are closely mixed. To divide the Banat would only be to make new irredentisms. The natural line of frontier is the Danube. If you would ignore the mark which nature has drawn, would you not be opening the way for an unending controversy over boundaries?

"Serbia and Rumania are old friends. There is no reason for one of them to fear the other, particularly now that we are all living in the common League of Nations. But, at any rate—if Serbia should still dread Rumanian proximity by our occupation of the Banat—let it be remembered that in our Treaty of 1916

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International Film Service

"LAND ARMY" GIRLS HELPING THE FARMER

These girls belong to a section of the New York State Woman's Land Army which has its headquarters at Marlborough-on-the-Hudson, the center of an important small fruit district. Here they are seen gathering currants

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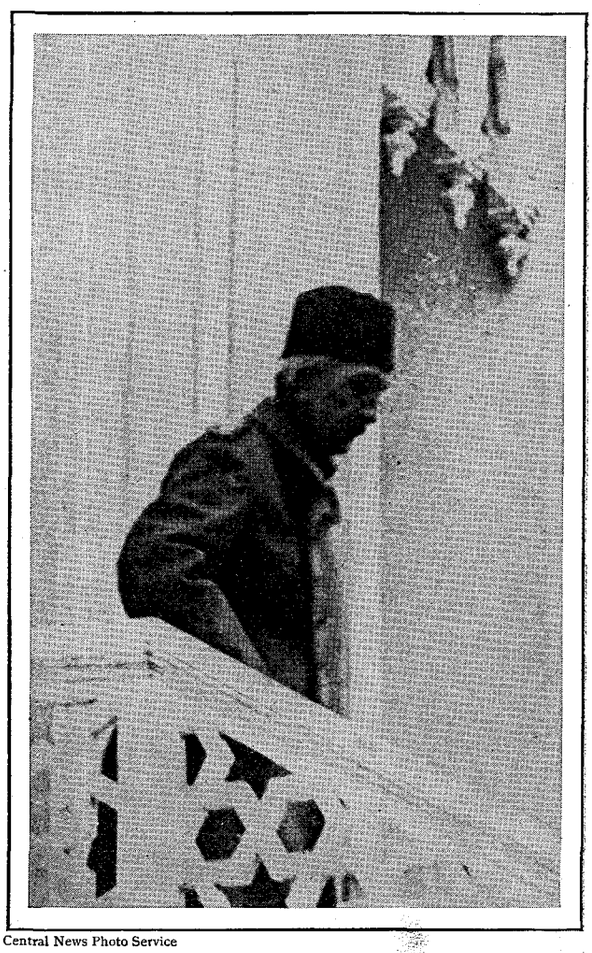
(C) Western Newspaper Union

A THRILLING LEAP

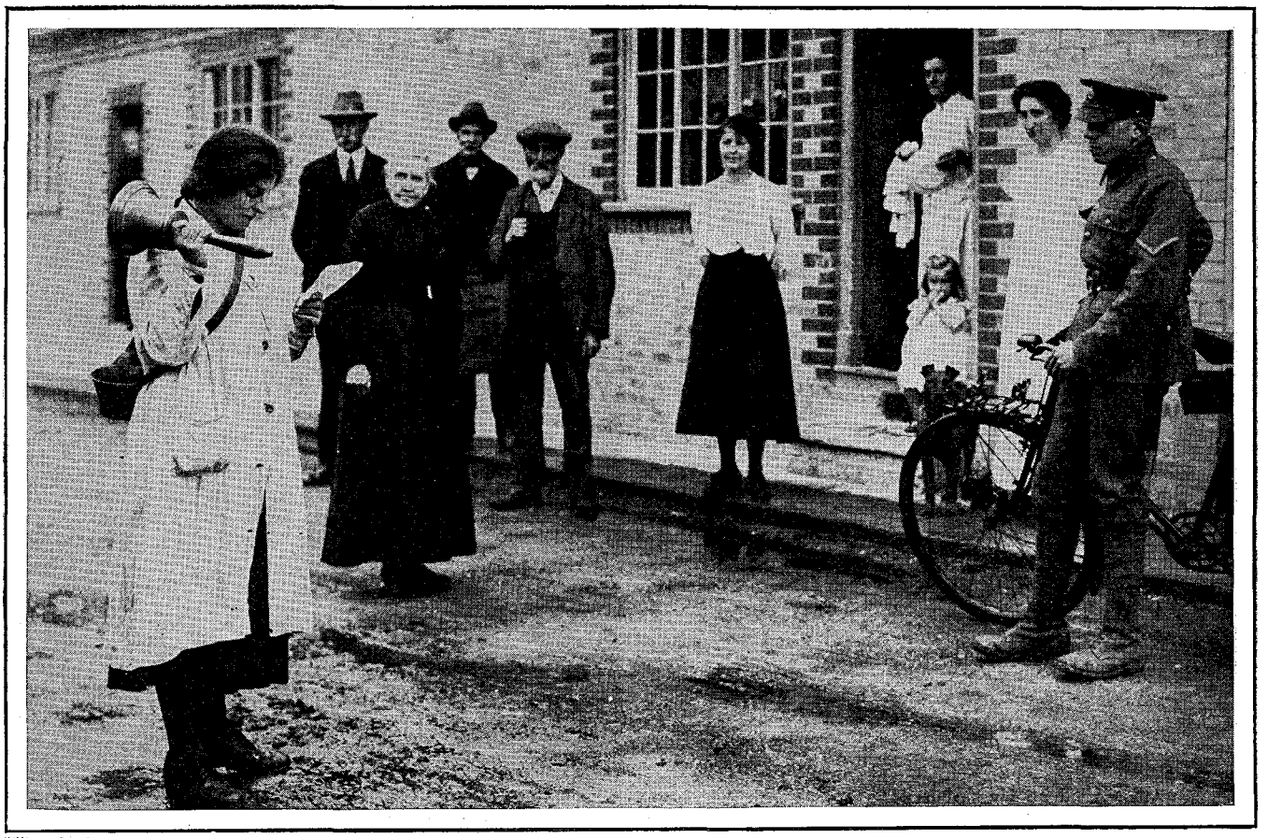
At the New York Police Games the other day Lieutenant H. W. Sheridan leaped with his parachute from the tip of a moving airplane 2,000 feet up in the air. To make the feat more sensational, Sheridan was handcuffed



Central News Photo Service

THE SULTAN PRAYS

The present Sultan of Turkey disowns the atrocious acts of his predecessor. He makes a daily visit to a mosque, and is seen leaving the mosque after prayers



Gilliams Service

A GIRL TOWN CRIER

In some villages and rural towns in England the bellman is still in existence. In Thetford the bellman in war time was a bellwoman, and proclaimed news or town orders as shown above

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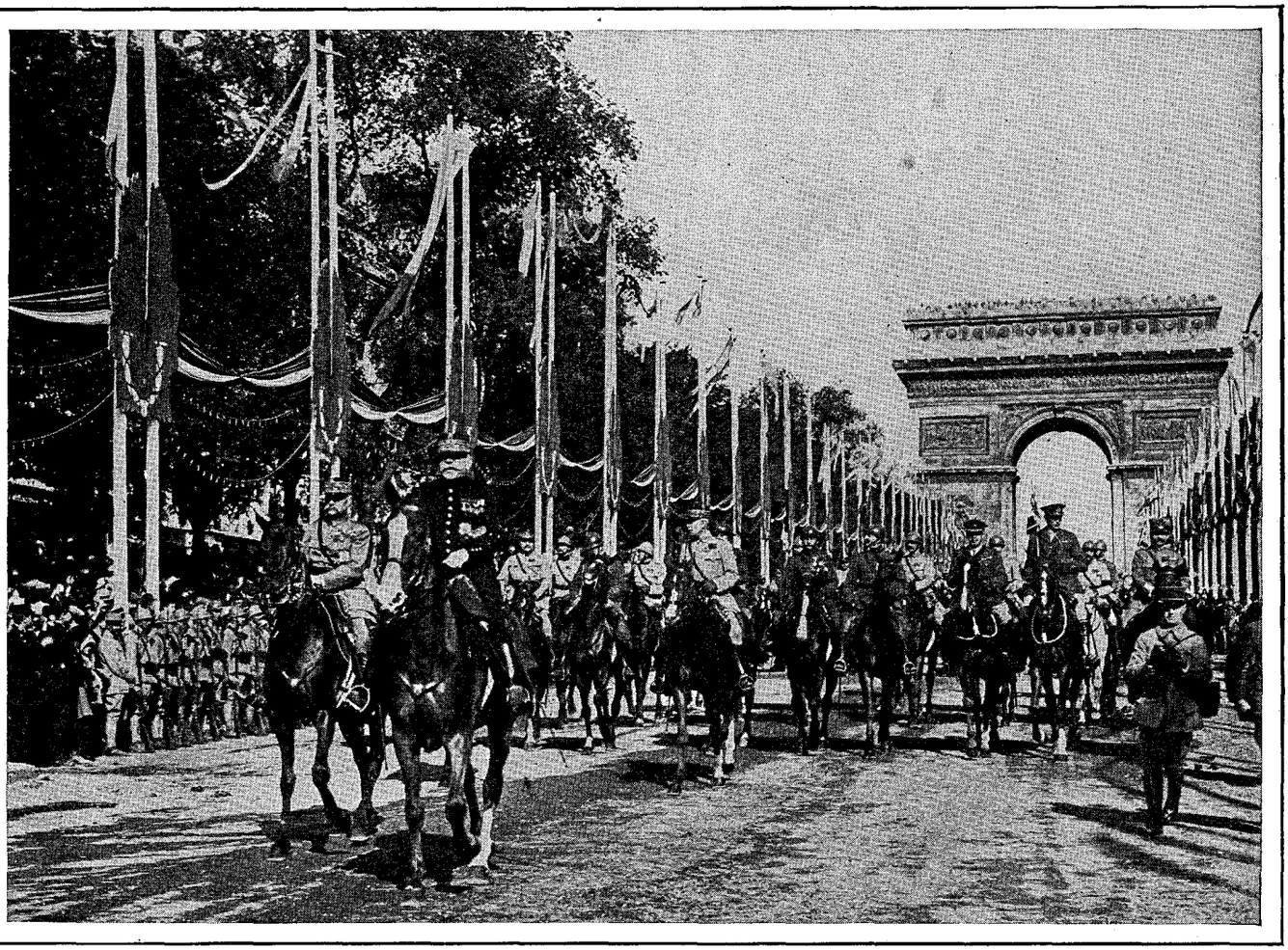
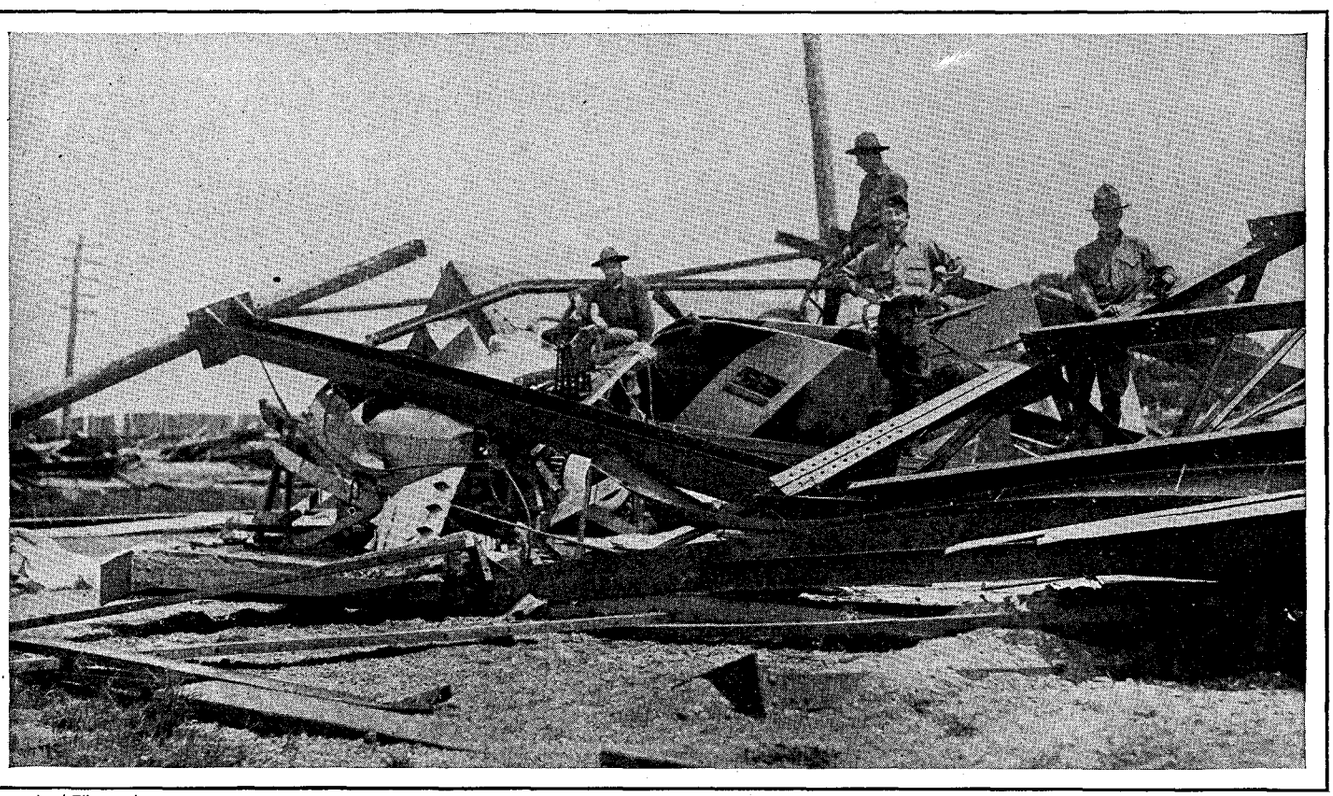


(C) International Film Service

THE BASTILLE DAY PARADE IN PARIS

Last week the great parade of July 14 in Paris was described by a staff correspondent. This picture shows the leaders of the parade after they had passed the Arc de Triomphe. It will be noticed that Marshal Joffre and Marshal Foch are riding almost side by side with the latter just a trifle behind his senior Marshal, as described by our correspondent in last week's Outlook



International Film Service

AIRPLANE WRECKAGE

One of the results of the recent sudden gale and thunder-storms on July 28 about New York was the wrecking of several large airplanes at Mineola, on Long Island, as shown above. One of them was the bombing plane that was about to attempt a one-stop flight from New York to San Francisco

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with France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia we pledged our word to leave opposite the Serbian capital of Belgrade a zone unfortified and ungarrisoned.

"As for the other items in our programme of redemption," said the Premier of the Rumanians, "Bukowina is a piece of old Moldavia stolen by Austria in 1775, when you Americans were too busy with your own affairs to protest against this piece of international brigandage." (M. Bratiano chuckled.) "Moldavia and Bukowina have never stopped clamoring for their reunion. A National Assembly attended by delegates of all the elements in the population of Bukowina except the Ruthenians on November 28 last demanded that Bukowina and all its historic boundaries be joined to Rumania. Even the bitterest critic of Rumania," M. Bratiano continued, "could not criticise her for wanting to get back Bessarabia. Bessarabia was stolen from us by old imperialistic Russia as a stepping-stone toward Constantinople. Now that Russia has given up her imperialism, there is not even a selfish reason why any one should object to the natural reunion of Rumania and Bessarabia. Seventy-two per cent of the population of that province is Rumanian. And the reunion which we hope will soon be an accomplished fact was advocated by the National Council of Bessarabia on April 9, 1918, by a vote of eighty-six to three."

At this point I asked M. Bratiano a question which I like to ask every statesman I meet nowadays—that is, a question in regard to his opinion of Bolshevism and its progress both within his country and without it.

"Ha, ha!" said M. Bratiano, with a smile. "We are as familiar with Bolshevism as a Norwegian is familiar with the sea. Rumania is a peninsula of law and order jutting into a sea of Bolshevism. Only a fool would affect unconcern in regard to the career of these social extremists. How many governments can you point out in Europe which have been in power as long as the government of Lenine and Trotsky? But we who are so close to Bolshevism are perhaps not so much afraid of it as you who are farther away. We see the joints in its armor. The greatest weapon to use against it is food. You Americans can do perhaps more than any other country in saving Europe from Bolshevism. Just flood the Black Sea and Baltic and far eastern coasts of Russia with food and you will see Bolshevism recede like fire before water. That would be a noble task for the United States, and I am sure they could perform it."

When I asked M. Bratiano for his opinion on the controversy between the Italians and the Jugoslavs in regard to the possession of Fiume and Dalmatia, at first he would say only:

"They are both allies of ours, and we hope they will quickly come to an amicable settlement."

But when I alluded to President Wilson's statement in regard to Fiume, that it "must serve as the outlet and inlet of the commerce, not of Italy, but of the lands to the north and northeast of that port—Hungary, Bohemia, Rumania, and the states of the new Jugoslavic group"—the Rumanian Premier said:

"I was surprised at that reference of President Wilson to Rumania. We would use Fiume very little. The Black Sea and the Danube are the outlet and inlet for nearly all of our commerce."

In regard to the proposal for a union of the Balkan States M. Bratiano seems less enthusiastic than the great sponsor of that idea, M. Venizelos, Premier of Greece. It is a matter of comparative emphasis with M. Bratiano. "A Balkan union," said he, "would be an excellent thing if it were a real union, a close alliance to guard justice on the Balkan Peninsula and protect common interests against outside invasion. But a union on paper is of no value. And if the League of Nations becomes a vital, working organization, as we all hope it will, the need for a Balkan union will be much less than it otherwise would be. The world is growing smaller every day. A movement which recognizes the close interdependence of all nations in this day and aims at ameliorating and smoothing out those relations should be supported in preference to a movement which concerns itself primarily with the local interests of a small group of nations. However, there is no reason why the latter cannot flourish within the former and perhaps be of assistance to it. And so I believe both in the Balkan union and in the League of Nations.

"If there had been a well-organized Balkan union, Austria would never have dared attack Serbia. If the Balkan States hang together, neither the Germans nor the Russians will ever dare attack them again."

"Even if Germany becomes strong again, then, you think she will not renew the *Drang nach Osten* through the Balkans?"

"I think not. It seems very likely that Germany will soon be strong again, but I do not think she will try to expand to the southeast. Of course the Hungarians may show themselves ready to be her tools again if they think they can regain any of their lost plunder by so doing, and we must keep our eye on those fellows. But Germany's expansion, I believe, will follow the line of least resistance. She will find too solid a barrier in the tier of reconstructed states to the southeast—Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Jugoslavia, and Greece. And, although Bulgaria may always be ready to stick a knife into our backs for a price, Bulgaria alone is not much. Turkey will never again be strong enough to be of any use to Germany."

"In which direction do you think Germany will try to expand, then, your Excellency?"

"I believe she will follow the line of least resistance," repeated the Rumanian Premier, "and that she will move due east through Poland and Russia. About all that the rest of us can do is to help Russia in every way possible to be independent of Germany. Perhaps you Americans can do more than any of us in this way."

M. Bratiano's opinion that Germany is still dangerous is the opinion of every other Balkan statesman that I have met. They all express the hope that in withdrawing her army America will not withdraw her watchful attention from Europe nor her willingness to help put down Germany or any other bully who may run amuck again.

Paris, France.

A MOTHER AND HER BROOD

BY HELEN JOHNSON KEYES

FIVE hours before the next train! The news fell upon me in a tiny country depot in the State of Utah. I was unfed, unwashed, and very hot. My expectation had been to have only ten minutes in this miserable shanty, and then in a couple of hours to arrive at hot water, food, and a soft bed.

I waited alone for half an hour. Nothing stirred except the telegraph keys, which chattered garrulously, although the station-master had abandoned his post and wandered off into the misty spaces of the hot noon hour. Presently the slow tread of a horse sounded along the road. I went out on the platform, and saw approaching a wagon containing crates of poultry and eggs. It was driven by a woman, and as she came near I saw that she was pretty, with the pale-blue eyes of a thinker and crinkling brown hair. We looked at each other questioningly.

"The train is five hours late," I ventured. "I wonder if you know of any one who would let me rest in her home and give me a glass of milk? I am absurdly tired and hungry."

"Will you come home with me?" she responded, briskly. "I am going back just as soon as I have unloaded these crates."

A few minutes later I climbed up beside her on the board which was her seat.

"You must have a chicken farm?" I queried.

"I have more than a hundred birds,"

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she replied, "and am doing fairly well with them. It was the best way to take care of my four children after my husband died two years ago. Mr. Marvin was a telegraph operator and the station-master here."

"How did you happen to take up poultry?" I asked, interested because I have sometimes thought of trying to raise squabs myself.

"It was the home demonstration agent," she answered. "Here we are."

We dismounted in front of a very poor, unpainted house. The room we entered served as kitchen, dining-room, and living-room. Out of it opened a bedchamber, and that was all the house there was.

"I have only goat's milk," she apologized, "but I can make you some coffee and an omelet."

"That would be good," I acceded with the eagerness of real hunger.

She set to work silently. The two younger children, girls three and four years old, tumbled in at the door during these preparations, and were at once assigned tasks, such as drawing water and fetching dishes.

"You are a scientific cook," I said, as I watched my hostess.

"The home demonstration agent has taught me a few things. My oldest girl, ten years old, cooks better than I do. She made fifty dollars this year from canning. You see, we have a Farm Bureau in the county and an agent who works with us. We've had two projects this year—meal-planning and canning."

"I am very much interested in that kind of work," I confessed, "because I am connected with the Department of Agriculture in Washington, and know a great deal about the office there which has it in charge."

She turned from the stove, and her lovely eyes looked at me almost reverently. "It's a pleasure to know you," she said. Then, after a pause, she placed a fluffy omelet on the deal table in front of me, and continued, a little bashfully: "I hope you will tell me about the office. Women who belong to it sometimes come out into this State, but I have never seen any of them."

"There is a great deal I might tell you," I responded, "and it would all be worth while and about fine women. But what the Washington office wants to know about is *you* and your neighbors, and how much help you have received from the agents. I wish you would tell me about your poultry and how the agent helped you to get started."

"I will tell you," she said, "just as I always think of it myself." After placing bread and coffee beside me, she sent the children out to feed the chickens and then sat down and began her story.

"I always remember first coming home after the funeral. I had been sort of confused for the two days since he died. Neighbors had been staying with me, but they went back to their own homes. It seemed so queer to feel life beginning to get back to what it always had been. I recollect even being surprised that my shoes which had trod the earth near the grave pinched me just exactly as they had done a month before at Lucy's party; and it didn't seem nice that the children should beg for their suppers. I fell to asking myself which was queerer, that everything was about the same as it had been, or that my big, jolly, noisy husband had just *gone out* like a candle flame or a bubble. I'm not talking about religion, but just about this life. Well, I kept wondering and wondering about life and death as I took off my widow's clothes and put the children's play frocks on them again. I recall that I felt sort of proud as I buttoned up those play frocks, thinking that I was now the only protector of my babies. Then as I gathered up some greasewood from my yard and put it in my stove and went out to draw water I began counting up what I had. I was just so silly that it seemed to me I had a good deal. This house was mine, with half an acre of greasewood for fuel. Then there was the goat which the home demonstration agent had coaxed us to buy, so as to have milk for the children. Besides, I had a purse with some savings in it—ten dollars and twenty-one cents. That was all, but there were no debts, for a fraternal organization took charge of the funeral and there was a policy to meet the cost of the sickness.

"Of course I did wonder, as we all ate supper, where food was to come from after ten dollars and twenty-one cents had bought all it would. But I felt that the home demonstration agent, Miss Wyngate, would help me find work. After the children were tucked in bed that evening a wind storm came up. It frightened me, and I lost all my courage. Ten dollars and twenty-one cents would not last us more than two weeks. What then? Miss Wyngate had taught us a lot of thrift—how to make dresses from the tops of stockings and from feed sacks, and how to choose foods that contain the most nourishment. But, after all, thrift won't support you. Money has got to be earned to be thrifty with. How was I to earn it—enough for five people?

"I didn't sleep much that night, and the storm was awful. It seemed as if the house would blow down. The next morning I felt all sore and bruised and queer in my head from worry. Nothing seemed real and yet everything seemed terrible. About ten o'clock there was a rap on the door. When I saw Miss Wyngate's face, smiling, I just felt as if I was in the real world again. It was like waking up from a nightmare. She took both my hands and said: 'What a fine thing it is to be busy, isn't it, Mrs. Marvin? I'm sure it helps you to have the children always wanting something! Maybe I oughtn't to suggest anything more for you to do, but I was wondering if you'd care to go round to the culling demonstration this afternoon?'

"'I guess not,' I said, not seeing the thought in her mind at all. 'I haven't got any money to feed chickens with.'

"'Chickens are a pretty good investment,' she went on. 'There are many women making a profit of more than three hundred dollars a year with seventy or eighty birds. There is no excuse for failing with them in this part of the world, for the poultry specialist from the college is here, getting rid of the tubercular birds and culling the flocks. She can tell from examining a live hen whether she will lay enough eggs to earn her keep. Those which will not can be sold for eating. About twenty-eight per cent of the hens in most yards she finds to be non-productive. Besides culling she gives advice about feeding, so that eggs are laid the year round. She has shown the women, too, the value of producing infertile eggs for laying down in water-glass and using when the prices of fresh eggs are so high that it is worth while to sell every one that is laid. The profits from poultry have increased about seventy per cent in the counties where she has worked.'

"I hadn't listened very attentively at first, but little by little what she said got me. 'The Farm Bureau has been talking some about poultry projects, I know,' said I. 'I'd like right well to try my hand at it, but I haven't money enough to start in.' I told her just what I had.

"'I think we can borrow,' she said, 'allowing you to pay back very slowly. Think it over, and I'll stop for you about three o'clock this afternoon, and if you do feel like going to the poultry culling we'll drive over together.'

"Of course I went, and it just made me feel as I'd got to raise poultry. Well, in a few days Miss Wyngate came in again, and what do you think she had in the back of her little car? Fifty Rhode Island Reds and one rooster as handsome as ever I did see. These birds had been given me by women all through the county who knew my story. As if that wasn't enough, Miss Wyngate said her sister wanted a layette, and would I make it? Would I! That gave me enough money to build a poultry house, and a neighbor put up a brooder for me like one he had invented for himself."

Mrs. Marvin turned her back upon me and frankly wiped her eyes while I frankly wiped mine. Just then the oldest child and her brother came in—fine, happy-looking children. Mrs. Marvin put her arms around them both. "We're laying up money every month to send them to the Agricultural College," she said. "Myrtle is going to be a home demonstration agent and Billy a scientific farmer." They nodded their small heads solemnly.

At that moment I understood more clearly than I ever had before the stuff out of which the new life of our countryside is forming. In the university without walls or class-rooms which the extension movement is building on our farms such fervid apostles of education are developed and trained. Boy and girl, man and woman, old man and old woman, are all matriculated. Each is a pupil and each is a teacher. Thus education becomes as large as work, and work as large and various as life.

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THE BOOK TABLE: DEVOTED TO BOOKS AND THEIR MAKERS

THE REVIEWER COMMENTS ON HIS TRADE

THE book review table in an editorial office is a genuinely democratic institution. To find a place thereon a book needs only to be born. Like the fathers of the Republic, editors hold it to be a self-evident proposition that all books are created with a free and equal opportunity to pursue the happiness or unhappiness of being reviewed. But, like the previously mentioned fathers of the Republic, editors are also silent as to the fate that lies in store for their victims after the fact of their free and equal creation has been benevolently acknowledged.

It is indeed a strange medley that greets an editor's roving eye as it rambles along the table top dedicated to new books. Purples and greens, pale lavenders and scarlets, somber browns and demure and pious grays, tall books and fat, thin books and short—a true catalogue of their colors and outward shapes would closely resemble the catalogue of rodents in "The Pied Piper of Hamelin." And the confusion worse confounded of colors and shapes is as nothing to the confusion that lies within these various and variegated covers. Philosophy, history, poetry, science, fiction, and humor, or what authors and publishers have conspired to classify as such, jostle each other, like ill-mannered venders in a public market, crying aloud for instant review. Like the porter in "Macbeth," the reviewer can say: "Here's a knocking indeed!" and if a reviewer "were porter of hell gate, he should have old turning the key."

A reviewer's table is, for certain books (as some one has said of Mayor Hylan's tenancy of the New York City Hall), only a brief stopping-place on the road between obscurity and oblivion. For others, more fortunate, it serves as a platform from which they may receive at least a momentary introduction to the not over-receptive world of letters. For still others, and these are all too few, it may perchance prove the open door to public recognition and a long life of prosperity and honor.

It is the task of the reviewer to sort and classify and describe the suppliants for his attention, to speed good books on their way with a blessing, catch bad books by the coat tails and pull them out of the light that beats upon the printed page, to administer paternal admonitions to volumes that are trying to pass for what they are not and never can be, and to fan judicially the spark of life in those books that show signs of present vitality or the promise of future achievement.

Over the well-worn path that leads across the reviewer's table top passes continually the present generation of that eternal throng of books to the making of which there is no end. As a symbol of the reviewer's task and of the ever-present and overcrowded reality which daily confronts his eyes, "The Book Table" has been chosen as the heading under which comments upon books and their makers will be grouped hereafter in the pages of The Outlook.

THE NEW BOOKS

EDUCATIONAL

Carnegie Pensions. By J. McKeen Cattell. The Science Press, New York.

The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching was established in 1905 by the gift of ten million dollars as a fund for pensions to college professors retiring at a certain age or term of service Subsequent gifts of the founder have increased it to $125,000,000. Its management has not only been sharply criticised by its intended beneficiaries, but has been under fire by Congress and in the press as a centralized autocracy for the control of teachers. An overwhelming majority of the critics quoted by the author oppose its plans. In this volume Professor Cattell supports his arraignment of the Carnegie Foundation by extracts from letters of two hundred and fourteen college and university professors, a "history of ten years of the Carnegie Foundation" by Professor Jastrow, of the University of Wisconsin, and the reports of the Committee of the American Association of University Professors. On the other hand, he blends with his criticisms constructive suggestions for a more excellent way. The case is thus put before the court of intelligent public opinion.

FICTION

Born Fool (The). By John Walter Byrd. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

There is good fiction material in this story, but it has been used without much care in planning or proportion. The young man whose life story is told is a born naturalist and an engineer by education. Incidentally, there are some striking pen pictures of the hard, grinding life in a desolate English mining and milling country.

Great Modern English Stories (The). Compiled and Edited by Edward J. O'Brien. Boni & Liveright, New York.

Biographical sketches and bibliographies add to the interest of this collection. Many comparatively recent short stories, such as those by Walpole, Beresford, and Burke, balance the "classics" of Stevenson, Hardy, and Kipling. All the tales belong to the last forty years, and the average quality is excellent. "The Ghost Ship," by Richard Middleton, is delightful.

HISTORY, POLITICAL ECONOMY, AND POLITICS

British Empire and a League of Peace (The). Together with an Analysis of Federal Government: Its Function and Its Method. By George Burton Adams, Litt.D. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Fifty Years of Europe. 1870-1919. By Charles Downer Hazen. Henry Holt & Co., New York.

From Isolation to Leadership. By John Holladay Latané, Ph.D., LL.D. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City.

In this volume the rise and developments of the Monroe Doctrine find clear and concise chronicle. Professor Latané contrasts the operations of the Doctrine with the European plans of power, on the one hand, and, on the other, traces what he calls its "imperialistic tendencies" as evident, he alleges, in the Canal Zone and in the West Indies, for instance. Coming to the "late" war, the author refers to the Lusitania horror and to the President's "determination to stand by Russia." As to the first, Dr. Latané thinks that "some action would probably have been taken by the State Department regarding the dismissal of the German Ambassador had not the incident been overshadowed by . . . the actual destruction of the Lusitania." As if this were any excuse for delay! With regard to the second, he would have us believe that "the President's determination to stand by Russia has put a stop to the suggestions by those who . . . were willing to accept an inconclusive peace based on the sacrifice of Russian territory and independence."

From Czar to Bolshevik. By E. P. Stebbing. Illustrated. The John Lane Company, New York.

This is an interesting and valuable review of the events in Russia which ended with the fall of the Provisional Government in November, 1917, and the seizure of the power by the Bolsheviki. Mr. Stebbing does not spare the Allies in his conclusions. He says that "for reasons which to many, at least, appear inexplicable," Russia's allies "remained aloof from the new and struggling republic. . . . Why was the eastern front sacrificed when at least an attempt might have been made to save it?—an attempt which some qualified to speak think would have been certain to have met with success." To-day, even more than before, concludes the author, "the object before us is to save the Russian Empire from the German. If we fail in this, the war will have to be fought out again in the future."

Isabel of Castile and the Making of the Spanish Nation, 1451–1504. By Irene L. Plunket. Illustrated. (Heroes of the Nations.) G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

The transition of Spain from mediævalism to modernism, from a position of inferiority to one of primacy in the councils of Europe, under the guidance of Isabel, is succinctly described in this book. The picture it presents seems one of Spain itself rather than of a "Heroine of the Nations;" but the author doubtless had in mind a Spanish proverb, "He who says Spain has said everything," and put the emphasis on the sub-title of the work rather than on the personality of the Queen.

Labor and Reconstruction in Europe. By Elisha M. Friedman. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

The problems of reconstruction after the war are lucidly set forth in this book. It is a book of information, not of propaganda, and will be helpful to all earnest students of labor questions.

President's Control of Foreign Relations (The). By Edward S. Corwin, Ph.D. The Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J.

The two main principles which continually recur in these pages are, first, that a transaction of business with foreign nations is an executive function, and, second, that Congress is not to be prejudiced in exercising its powers by what the Executive has done in exercising his. The net result, however, of a century and a quarter of contest for power between the executive and the legislative branches remains, in the author's opinion, "decisively and conspicuously in favor of the President." To him there has been accorded an unlimited dis-

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cretion in the recognition of new governments and states, an undefined authority in sending special agents abroad (often of dubious diplomatic status) to negotiate treaties or for other purposes; a similarly undefined power to enter into contracts with their governments without the Senate's participation; the practically exclusive expression in the negotiation of treaties and exclusive initiative in the official formulation of the Nation's foreign policy. Then there are certain war-making powers which the President has gradually taken to himself. As a partial offset there are certain practices and principles safeguarding the discretion of Congress, such as its establishment of its practically exclusive right to abrogate treaties. In its historical and analytical study of all these powers the volume is certainly timely.

Proposed Roads to Freedom: Socialism, Anarchism, and Syndicalism. By Bertrand Russell, F.R.S. Henry Holt & Co., New York.

Bertrand Russell is a scholar infected with a passion for moral reform. The two temperaments it is difficult, if not impossible, to combine. The scholar's dominating passion is curiosity—he wants to know facts. The moral reformer's dominating passion is ambition—he wants to cure evils. Facts which illustrate the evils he wishes to cure or which furnish arguments for the remedy he proposes interest him; facts which mitigate the evils he wishes to cure or which tend to show that his proposed reform is impracticable he is apt either to deny or to disregard. He is rarely judicial, generally an advocate, often a partisan. Bertrand Russell's critical accounts of Socialism, Anarchism, and Syndicalism are well worth careful reading. He knows his subject and sees with clear vision the defects in these "Proposed Roads to Freedom." But his own proposed road to freedom, given in his last chapter, "The World as It Could be Made," while containing valuable suggestions—seed thoughts, we may call them—as a comprehensive social system strikes us as neither an ideal if it were practicable, nor practicable if it were an ideal. As a critical scholar he can be read with profit; as a constructive reformer he must be read with great caution.

Resurrected Nations (The). By Isaac Don Levine. The Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York.

A large part of Europe and a portion of Asia may now be described as a melting-pot out of which are to come new nations in the near future as a result of the great war. This book describes in a sympathetic spirit the peoples of eighteen of these embryo nations and tells something of their history. It will prove enlightening to such readers—and who is not among them?—as are puzzled at times by the racial complexities of the peoples liberated by the great conflict.

Riddle of Nearer Asia (The). By Basil Mathews. Preface by Viscount Bryce. Illustrated. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

Traditions of British Statesmanship. Some Comments on Passing Events. By the Hon. Arthur D. Elliot. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Altruism: Its Nature and Varieties. The Ely Lectures for 1917–18. By George Herbert Palmer. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York City.

Professor Palmer, in all his writings, which are too few, deals not with abstract theories but with the real problems of life. He is always vital and always practical, by which we mean, not that he deals only with practices, but that he deals with intellectual problems as they affect practices, and so concern men and women. And he is always both clear and cogent, so that if you do not always agree with him you always find it necessary, in order to maintain your self-respect, to find some reason which you can give to yourself for your disagreement. We recommend this little volume as provocative to clear thinking and to all thoughtful persons who are interested in the problems of the moral life.

Cyclopedia of Twentieth Century Illustrations (A). New Pictures of Truth from Current Events and Recent Inventions and Discoveries, for the use of Preachers, Sunday-School Teachers and Christian Workers. By Amos R. Wells. The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York.

Mind and Conduct. Morse Lectures Delivered at the Union Theological Seminary in 1919. By Henry Rutgers Marshall, L.H.D., D.S. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

IN A HALL BEDROOM

(From "Candles That Burn")

BY ALINE KILMER

"In the long border on the right
I shall plant larkspur first," she thinks.
"Peonies and chrysanthemums
And then sweet-scented maiden pinks.

"The border on the left shall hold
Nothing but masses of white phlox.
Forget-me-nots shall edge this one,
The one across be edged with box.

"The sun-dial in the center stands.
There morning-glories bright shall twine.
And in the strip at either end
Shall grow great clumps of columbine.

"There is no garden in the world
So beautiful as mine," she dreams.
Rising, she walks the little space
To where her narrow window gleams.

She gazes through the dingy pane
To where the street is noisy still,
And tends with pitiable care
A tulip on the window-sill.

POETRY

Candles That Burn. By Aline Kilmer. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

Mrs. Kilmer's verses are vivid, poignant, and effective. Most of her poems are filled with the shadows of tragedy, but none of them lacks that dignity which inevitably springs from the high courage of a consecrated spirit. The simplicity, directness, and power of Mrs. Kilmer's verse are well illustrated in the selection from "Candles That Burn" which appears on this page.

Harvest Home (The). Collected Poems of James B. Kenyon. James T. White & Co., New York.

New Morning (The). Poems. By Alfred Noyes. The Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York.

WAR BOOKS

Adventures in Propaganda. By Heber Blankenhorn. Illustrated. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

All the World. By Charles M. Sheldon. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

Hatchet (The) of the United States Ship "George Washington." Compiled by Captain Edwin T. Pollock, U. S. Navy, and Lieut. (J. G.) Paul F. Bloomhardt, Chaplain Corps, U. S. Navy. Illustrated. The Navy Relief Society, Washington.

There is a surprising amount of interesting matter connected with the war-time voyages of the George Washington apart from its recent fame as the "President's ship." "The Hatchet" (cleverly named) was printed as a daily on board ship in the war zone and beyond, under the editorship of Captain Edwin T. Pollock and Chaplain Bloomhardt. Seven thousand copies were printed in all, we are told. As now presented in book form, it is admirably illustrated, contains, among other things, an interesting chart of the courses taken by the George Washington in its voyages from December, 1917, to December, 1918, includes a readable account of the incidents of the President's first voyage in the ship, and abounds in clever bits of fun, queer and notable incidents, and sound and patriotic editorials.

Collapse and Reconstruction. European Conditions and American Principles. By Sir Thomas Barclay. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

Fighting the Flying Circus. By Captain Edward V. Rickenbacker. Maps and Foreword by Laurence La Tourette Driggs. The Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York.

Night Bombing With the Bedouins. By One of the Squadron, Robert H. Reece, Lieut. Illustrated. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

Our Common Conscience. By Sir George Adam Smith, Kt., D.D., LL.D., Litt.D. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

Invited by the National Committee on the Churches and the Moral Aims of the War conjointly working with the Department of Public Information, the distinguished author of this volume toured our country last spring and summer. The title of this collection of his addresses felicitously incarnates the fundamental truth which pervades their message to America as associated with Great Britain and France in a common cause. For no formal compact, however sworn to, is so compelling, so deathless, as a common conscience.

Dr. Smith spoke from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Lakes to the Gulf in nearly forty centers, before thrice as many assemblies of various sorts and sizes; one of his audiences was mainly composed of United States soldiers. Twice before has he been invited hither to lecture—at Johns Hopkins in 1893 and at Yale in 1896. Through the glowing Epilogue to these addresses not only will his countrymen more fully understand and esteem us, but many of us may gain a larger knowledge of ourselves as a people. The volume is dedicated to his sons, "who fell fighting for the Cause," the one in France, the other in East Africa.

BOOKS FOR YOUNG FOLKS

Adventures of Twinkly Eyes (The): The Little Black Bear. By Allen Chaffee. Illustrated. The Milton Bradley Company, Springfield.

Cornelia: The Story of a Benevolent Despot. By Lucy Fitch Perkins. Illustrated. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

Dave Porter's War Honors; or, At the Front with the Fighting Engineers. By Edward Stratemeyer. Illustrated. (Dave Porter Series.) The Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Company, Boston.

Dormitory Days. By Arthur Stanwood Pier. Illustrated. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

Good Old Stories for Boys and Girls. Selected by Elva S. Smith. Illustrated. The Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Company, Boston.

Good Sports. By Olive Higgins Prouty. The Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York.

Hidden Treasure. The Story of a Chore Boy Who Made the Old Farm Pay. By John Thomas Simpson. Illustrated. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

Lad: A Dog. By Albert Payson Terhune. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

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WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY

BY J. MADISON GATHANY, A.M.

HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP IN THE SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL, SCARBOROUGH-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK

Based on The Outlook of August 6, 1919

Each week an Outline Study of Current History based on the preceding number of The Outlook will be printed for the benefit of current events classes, debating clubs, teachers of history and of English, and the like, and for use in the home and by such individual readers as may desire suggestions in the serious study of current history.—THE EDITORS.

[Those who are using the weekly outline should not attempt to cover the whole of an outline in any one lesson or study. Assign for one lesson selected questions, one or two propositions for discussion, and only such words as are found in the material assigned. Or distribute selected questions among different members of the class or group and have them report their findings to all when assembled. Then have all discuss the questions together.]

I—INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

A. Topic: The Proposed Alliance with France.

Reference: Page 525.

Questions:

1. Make a report on the following questions relative to treaties: How are treaties negotiated? How do they become law? Can Congress repeal a treaty? Suppose the terms of a treaty and a law of Congress should conflict, which would be considered law? What is the status of a treaty that is contrary to the Constitution? Can public money be appropriated by a treaty? Should the House of Representatives have any voice in treaty-making? Reasons. 2. Make as many comparisons as you can between international conditions and political ideals at the time of the American alliance with France in 1778 and at the present time. Compare also the provisions and purposes of that alliance with the provisions and purposes of the proposed alliance with France. What conclusions do you find yourself drawing? 3. What possible reasons can you think of for withholding assent from the French treaty? 4. The Outlook upholds President Wilson in signing the treaty with France. Give as many reasons as you can for agreeing with The Outlook. 5. Criticise the following statements: "Nobody much wants the alliance." "This alliance violates the Covenant [League of Nations] in a most fundamental way." "The object of this treaty is to create a clique within a clique." "The purpose of this treaty is not to protect France against a German invasion." 6. For outside material on this topic consult "American Government," by F. A. Magruder (Allyn & Bacon)—a most excellent text-book—and "The French War and the Revolution," by W. M. Sloane (Scribners).

B. Topic: Mr. Taft, Mr. Hughes, and the League of Nations; The Guide of the Nations; What the Pacific Northwest Thinks About the League and the Treaty.

Reference: Pages 530–532; 537–539.

Questions:

1. Explain carefully the public stand taken by Mr. Taft and Mr. Hughes as to the League of Nations and reservations. 2. Discuss the importance of their stand. 3. Do you think the safety of the American people at the present time rests as truly in the Republican party as it did when the Republican party was formed? Think carefully and hard. 4. What does Dr. Abbott think of the League of Nations? Upon what does his faith in the League rest? Tell what you think of his ideas and beliefs. 5. Discuss whether Dr. Abbott shows good judgment when he says that he is willing to accept any reservations which competent authority assures him will *not* imperil the acceptance of the League of Nations by other nations. 6. Does it seem to you that history shows that a successful civilization depends upon the hearty co-operation of individuals and nations in furthering the common good? Illustrate freely from National and international experiences. 7. Dr. Abbott believes that God is the guide of the nations. Are you of his opinion? Give several reasons. 8. According to Professor Davenport, what does the Pacific Northwest think of the League and the Treaty? Explain at some length. 9. How do you like the reported opinion of the Pacific Northwest? Discuss. 10. America has a high international moral leadership. Explain how she achieved such leadership. Has this been true of her only since 1917? 11. Write out a number of lessons you think the articles for this topic teach.

II—NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Topic: Racial Tension and Race Riots.

Reference: Editorial, pages 532–534.

Questions:

1. Describe as carefully as you can the race riots in Washington and Chicago. Are they a National disgrace? Reasons. 2. Who and what are responsible for these riots? How far back is responsibility to be traced? 3. Since 1890 most of the Southern States have framed constitutions containing clauses which practically disfranchise the Negro. The Outlook reports other conditions of the Negro in the South. Has the Southern treatment of the Negro any relation to the race riots in the North? 4. Should the Supreme Court and the American Government take steps in solving the Negro problem? If so, what steps? Discuss at length.

III—PROPOSITIONS FOR DISCUSSION

(These propositions are suggested directly or indirectly by the subject-matter of The Outlook, but not discussed in it.)

1. Democracy is more preached than practiced. 2. America should enter into an unending offensive and defensive alliance with Great Britain. 3. The United States has a race problem more serious than that of any other nation in the world.

IV—VOCABULARY BUILDING

(All of the following words and expressions are found in The Outlook for August 6, 1919. Both before and after looking them up in the dictionary or elsewhere, give their meaning *in your own words*. The figures in parentheses refer to pages on which the words may be found.)

Alliance, purport (525); shibboleth (537); assiduity, pusillanimous, miasma, canny (538); bravado (532); provost guard, aftermath (533).

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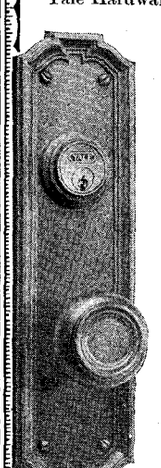

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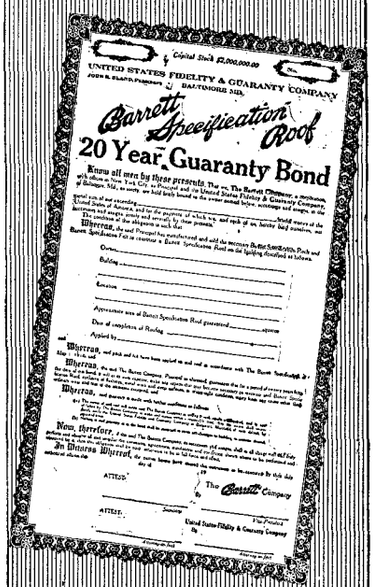
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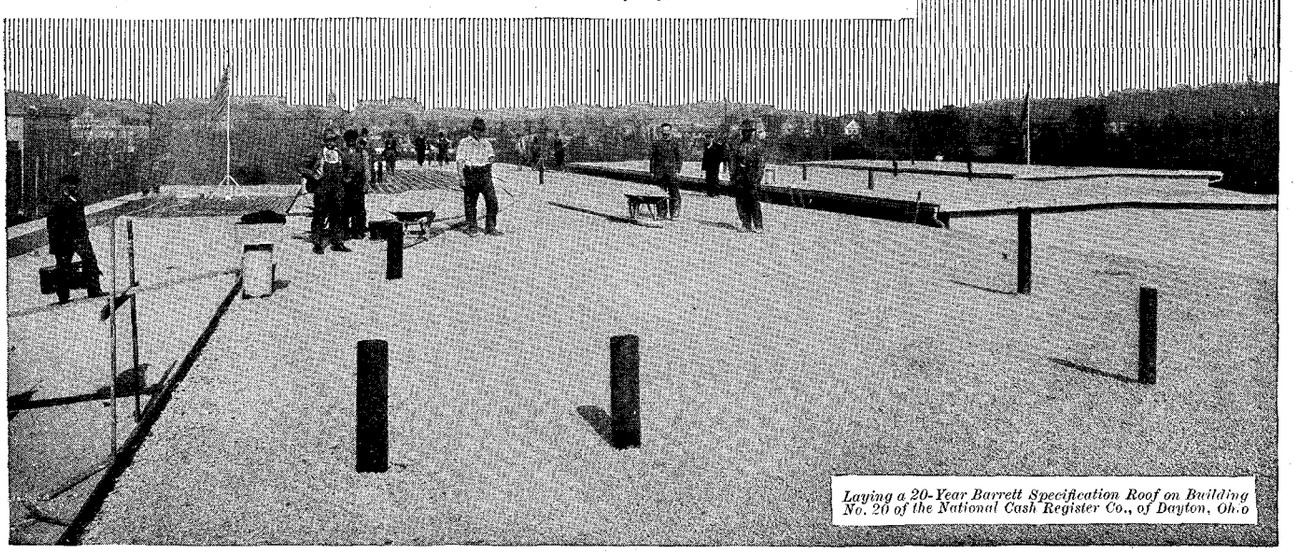

Laying a 20-Year Barrett Specification Roof on Building No. 20 of the National Cash Register Co., of Dayton, Oh.o

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FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT

The Financial Department is prepared to furnish information regarding standard investment securities, but cannot undertake to *advise* the purchase of any specific security. It will give to inquirers facts of record or information resulting from expert investigation, and a nominal charge of one dollar per inquiry will be made for this special service. All letters of inquiry should be addressed to THE OUTLOOK FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York.

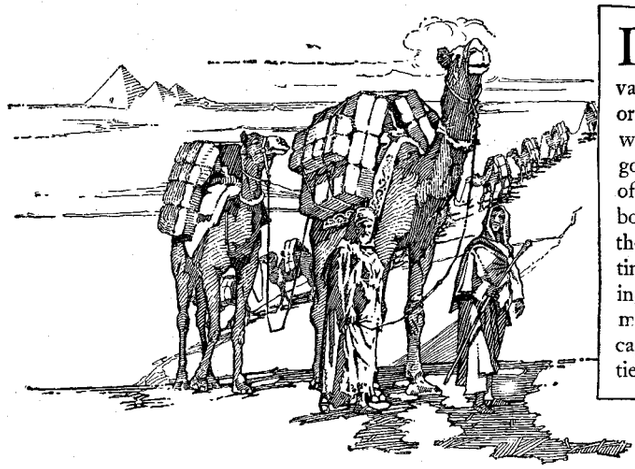
COMMENT ON CURRENT FINANCIAL TOPICS

ESTABLISHING A TRADE BALANCE

IT has been estimated that over a period of possibly three years at least $3,000,000,000 will be required for European reconstruction, but this figure is not large in comparison to the $10,000,000,000 already lent by this Government to Europe or to the $25,000,000,000 raised by the Liberty Loan campaigns. However, these funds for reconstruction must be obtained from private capital, and various plans are under consideration for the financing of exports.

Europe needs our surplus products, particularly our basic materials, and we need their markets in order to keep production of labor at the maximum, and to accomplish this we must finance Europe by long-term credits, so that she may be able to meet the payments upon our exports to her with as little confusion and difficulty as possible. America must face this condition with equanimity, as happiness, prosperity, and industry are directly contingent upon the productive enterprise and financial capability of the people of Europe. In exporting our surplus commodities to Europe we are therefore performing both an economic and an altruistic service.

However, the enthusiasm over the export possibilities has been so great that the majority overlook the question of imports. At the same time that we are endeavoring to build up our export trade we must also encourage imports; for otherwise, how may we expect Europe to meet her obligations to us, already enormous, but probably steadily increasing over the next two or three years of reconstruction? In the end, Europe can pay her debt only in



IN the Middle Ages, cotton came by caravan from India to Cairo or to Constantinople, where it was traded for goods of Europe. Ships of Venice or of Genoa bore it West. During all the tedious journey and time-consuming bartering of the traders and money changers the capital represented was tied up—useless.

Modern Commercial Banking

THE commodities of modern commerce are carried, not over shifting trails and on crude, uncertain vessels, but over highways of steel and on great ships regularly plying the ocean lanes.

The complex organization which exists to bring the raw material to the manufacturer, and the finished product to the user, depends, for its proper functioning, upon the assistance supplied by modern commercial banking.

For example, at no time in the progress from seed to cloth does cotton represent idle capital. It is the basis of banking credit for grower, buyer, mill, or seller.

Modern commercial banking multiplies productive capacity through the proper provision of credit. Its wise use lies at the foundation of commercial and industrial prosperity. Every service of commercial banking is available through this Company.

Guaranty Trust Company of New York

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Capital and Surplus	$50,000,000
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Financial Department (Continued)

commodities, and we must encourage their importation if a stable balance of trade is to be maintained and our export business is to become a permanent institution.

THE SIXTH LOAN

Probably the forerunner of another Government loan appeared a few days ago in a new series of Certificates of Indebtedness, dated August 1, bearing 4½ per cent interest and maturing January 2, 1920.

Secretary Glass has said that we should not witness another great loan floated by means of a popular campaign, such as we have experienced for five successive short periods. We may of course expect that this new loan will be offered to the public at an attractive yield and upon an easy-payment basis, although it is reasonable to believe that the banks will be called upon to subscribe for the largest part of it; but with the proper income return, the banks will stand ready to assume the obligation.

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF RAILWAYS

The Inter-State Commerce Committee of the Senate is reported to be working on the proposed legislation for the return of the railways to private ownership. It is anticipated that this event will take place, as promised, on January 1, 1920. A great deal may be accomplished in five months with the proper procedure and intelligence, and this five months' period is indeed a most perilous time for the carriers. Upon the nature of the legislation enacted depends the future of this country's transportation problems for many years to come.

The foregoing paragraph was written before the announcement of the Railway Unions which alters the whole complexion of the railway problem and makes it one of the most serious and acute that the country has to face.

AMERICAN TELEPHONE DIVIDEND

The physical condition of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company's property is reported to be in splendid shape, and with labor conditions improving and a probable continuation of present rates there is no reason to question the ability of the Company to pay uninterruptedly the present $2 quarterly dividend; and it is thought by many able financiers that a pessimistic apprehension in this regard is unwarranted.

SOUTHERN PACIFIC

The Southern Pacific Company shows in its balance-sheet as of December 31 last a book value of $317 a share—disregarding the value of its proven oil lands, which may be added to an amount possibly of an additional $30 or $35 per share.

A LOAN TO GERMANY

Germany is confronted by the task of paying for the importation of foodstuffs and raw materials, the immediate need for which is most imperative. As it is with the United States that Germany most desires trade relations, she is greatly handicapped by the embargo we have placed on such materials as she has available for export, such as potash and dyestuffs. Having practically nothing acceptable for payment except their much-depreciated bank notes, Berlin bankers have declared that their only hope of resuming trade with our country is to secure a loan against which they might draw in paying for imports. And it is in this endeavor that Martin Nordegg, a German capitalist, is now working. Nordegg, who has been in the United States since 1915, is said to enjoy the confidence of our Government as well as that of Canada's. During the war his conduct was unimpeachable, which resulted in his not being subjected to internment.

Germany's interests in this instance are being represented by the Deutsche Bank of Berlin, for which institution Nordegg, although admitted not to be an official representative, has conducted business transactions in the past. The amount of the loan desired is $100,000,000 to $250,000,000. The transaction will take the form of advances by American banks, and no attempt will be made to sell the securities publicly. Further details of the negotiations have not been made public excepting for the fact that the banks to participate will not be German-American in character but out-and-out American institutions.

STANDARD OIL OF NEW JERSEY, PFD.

The issuance of $100,000,000 7 per cent cumulative preferred stock by the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, underwritten by J. P. Morgan & Co., and offered to shareholders of record on August 15, is a most interesting piece of financing for any company which shows earnings before taxes, of a sum slightly larger than the new capital asked for, or net after taxes of approximately 60 per cent of this new capital. This is the first financial statement made public by this company since the dissolution suit, and is

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Financial Department (Continued)

a radical change of policy in increasing the capital instead of drawing upon current earnings for expansion requirements.

BY THE WAY

Apropos of a recent rumor that proved groundless, some one recalls that George Ade, the author of "Fables in Slang," once told of a young man who was kicked in the head by a mule "and thereafter believed everything he read in the Sunday newspapers."

London tenants have trouble as well as those in New York. "Did all considerate landlords die on August 4, 1914?" is asked by an advertiser in the London "Times," who appeals to "noble survivors (if any)" to let a medium-sized house on the outskirts of London. Another advertiser offers to let a furnished railway carriage in a Surrey garden.

A friend throws doubt on the authenticity of the legend of St. Swithin's Day as retold in The Outlook. The prime thing about any legend is not that it is true but that it is interesting. Nevertheless we admit that Chambers's "Book of Days" (which is *the* authority on "days," and especially on saints' days) solemnly pronounces the legend "specious" and darkly hints that it arose in a modern newspaper clipping. The elaborate article on St. Swithin in "Chambers's" is good reading. It holds that Swithin was buried under the eaves of the Cathedral because he wanted to destroy a prejudice or superstition against that kind of burial; that he was reburied long after in the Cathedral on July 15, but that, instead of raining on that day, the weather was lovely and the ceremony beautiful. Whence the legend, then? This authority believes that it was in existence long before St. Swithin's time, that it related to July 15, and that in some way it simply became transferred to Swithin's account.

This kind of transference of heathen superstitions to modern festivals is well known. The most famous instance is the merging of the old Roman Saturnalia with Christmas Day on December 25. Readers of Charles Reade's "The Cloister and the Hearth" will remember how a somewhat skeptical pope enlarges with much wit on many such instances in the calendar of saints.

We sometimes think that our British friends are a little slow, but when it comes to making a Prince of Wales a member of the bar, England certainly can move quickly. On July 2, at the Middle Temple, the present Prince of Wales was called to the bar, as the New York "Evening Post" expresses it, "after a legal training lasting approximately three minutes." Incidentally, Lord Coleridge, in his humorous welcome of the Prince to the bench and bar, noted that the Prince had declared that his father had no profession, that he had no occupation, and that he had never engaged in trade. We note also that the Prince was called to the "utter bar," which seems to be an ancient form for the "outer bar," made up of junior barristers.

A Birmingham correspondent of a London paper furnishes an illuminating instance of the working of the English after-the-war out-of-work pay system. A general fitter was offered by him a job at £4 10*s.* per week, which, with overtime, could be turned into £5 10*s.* For various "reasons" the man put off taking up the job, and inquiry

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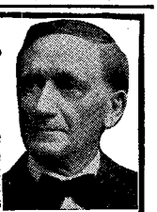

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Has automatic Air Cushions. Binds and draws the broken parts together as you would a broken limb. No salves. No lies. Durable, cheap. Sent on trial to prove it. Protected by U. S. patents. Catalog and measure blanks mailed free. Send name and address today.
Brooks Appliance Co., 471D. State St., Marshall, Mich.

With Low Shoes

The appearance of your ankles is even more important than usual. To insure faultlessly smooth hose—

Boston Garter
Velvet Grip

GEORGE FROST CO., BOSTON, MAKERS OF
Velvet Grip Hose Supporters
For Women, Misses and Children

By the Way (Continued)

revealed the interesting fact that he was drawing 29*s.* out-of-work pay; children's allowance, 9*s.*; a military pension of 15*s.*; a club out-of-work pay, 20*s.*; while his wife was earning 50*s.* per week and her board. In these circumstances, asks the correspondent, why should the man work?

Queer points come up under Industrial Compensation Laws. One of the oddest was the loss by accident of a sixth toe; the ordinary five toes are specified and damage value stated in the law, but no value is placed on a sixth toe. The Commissioner, like a new Solomon, decided that the loss of a sixth toe did injure the foot and awarded $20 compensation. The account ends: "Going out, Dieptro [the injured man] shook hands with the Commissioner, and then the latter learned that he has five fingers and a thumb on each hand, as well as six toes on each foot."

An East African paper describes a duel between a motor and a lioness. The affair, it says, happened at night near Nairobi. The chauffeur noted a commotion in the bush near the road, then the gleaming eyes of an enraged wild animal. He accelerated his speed at the instant the lioness leaped. She struck the hood and was thrown far in advance of the car, whose wheels then passed over her. The dead lioness was finally loaded into the car and taken back to the town in triumph.

The native West Indian is the greatest controversialist of the tropic world, according to George O. Miller, author of "Prowling About Panama." He illustrates: "A young West Indian woman on the train in Costa Rica left her seat to speak to a friend and another girl slipped in next to the window. When the visitor returned, claims, charges, and countercharges began as to the ownership of the seat. With indescribable scorn the usurper said, 'Do you want a seat in my lap?' which provoked, 'Ah, now I see how you was raised!' 'Indeed, and you have no manners at all.' Back and forth the duel rages until the first claimant finds another seat, saying, 'I certainly does respect myself too highly to sit by the likes of you.' All this with the wholly inimitable British-Jamaican accent."

Nobody ever Changes from RAMESES

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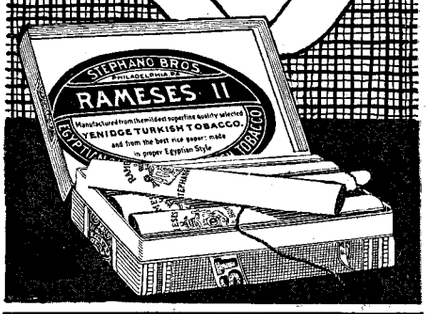

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45 minutes by the Lackawanna from Hoboken

House, 10 rooms, 3 bathrooms. First floor: entrance hall, steam-heated solarium, living-room, dining-room, butler's pantry, etc. Second floor: 4 large corner rooms, 2 bathrooms, inclosed sleeping-porch over solarium. Third floor: 4 rooms and bath. Electricity, steam heat. Two-car garage, living quarters above—100-gallon gasoline tank, buried. Plot, 150 ft. frontage on boulevard, about 170 ft. frontage on lake; 440 ft. from boulevard to lake. Ground gradually sloping toward lake. 800 ft. elevation. Excellent boating, bathing, and fishing. Location unusually attractive—an ideal all-year-round home. Price $20,000; satisfactory terms can be arranged. Inspection by appointment. Address F. C. H., care of The Outlook.

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Mrs. J. E. Castle, Proprietor.

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A SUMMER RESORT
12 miles from Bath, Me. Located on eastern section Casco Bay, overlooking the ocean. 4 miles shore line. 500 acres consisting of farm, lakes, pine and spruce woods, hills. A hotel club with central dining hall, 20 bungalows. A select resort for nature-loving people. Accommodations available from August 16 to September 15. Our specialty is fresh caught sea food and garden vegetables. Weekly rates $17.50 to $22. All references. Address SEBASCO ESTATES CO., Sebasco, Maine.

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Globe Trotters call the Puritan one of the most homelike hotels in the world. Your inquiries gladly answered and our booklet mailed
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Room and bath $4.50 per day with meals, or $2.50 per day without meals.
Illustrated Booklet gladly sent upon request. JOHN P. TOLSON.

HOTEL JUDSON 53 Washington Square
adjoining Judson Memorial Church. Rooms with and without bath. Rates $2.50 per day, including meals. Special rates for two weeks or more. Location very central. Convenient to all elevated and street car lines.

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On Pine Lake. Includes 500 acres of wildest Adirondack Mountains. Hunting, fishing, swimming, canoeing, tennis, saddle horses. Tramps to surrounding mountain peaks, Lake George and Lake Champlain. Dancing. Excellent meals. Spring water. Cabins and tents $14, $16 and up. Private parties entirely isolated. References required. Manager, ROYDEN BARBER, Clemons, N. Y.

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Modern Fireproof Hotel and Garage
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An institution devoted to the personal study and specialized treatment of the invalid. Massage, Electricity, Hydrotherapy. Apply for circular to ROBERT LIPPINCOTT WALTER, M.D. (late of The Walter Sanitarium)

WANTED—TO CARE FOR IN SMALL NURSING HOME
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Beautiful, quiet, restful and homelike. Over 26 years of successful work. Thorough, reliable, dependable and ethical. Every comfort and convenience. Accommodations of superior quality. Disorder of the nervous system a specialty. Fred. W. Seward, Sr., M.D., Fred. W. Seward, Jr., M.D., Goshen, N. Y.

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unfurnished, in same building in New York City. No. 1. Containing living-room or studio, dining-room, kitchen, two bedrooms, bathroom and maid's room. No. 2. Containing living-room or studio, bedroom and bath. No. 3. Containing living-room or studio, bedroom and bath. Location preferably out of the usual beaten paths, something not usually rented if possible, and preferably in a private house altered for such purpose. Nothing south of Greenwich Village nor north of 72d Street will be considered. Occupancy October 1, 1919. Address CHARLES H. DAVIS, Bass River, Cape Cod, Mass.

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All winter proposition. Responsible retired professional gentleman, having large house within hour of New York City, desires few others of equal standing to join in co-operative plan in living simply and sanely and in accord with the reasonable features only of the noted health resorts of Europe and America. Those really ill or believing they need medical attention need not respond. But any feeling that such conditions can without undue expense easily be avoided may find it advantageous to address 877, Outlook.

COUNTRY BOARD, New Jersey. Nurse's private home accommodates few convalescents and elderly people requiring care. 65 Halsted St., East Orange, N. J.

Real Estate

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For Sale or Rent Charming house in ideal New England village. Three hours from New York. A. M. L., Mrs. J. S. CLARK, 1142 Madison Ave., New York.

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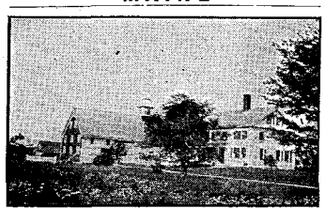

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Fine old estate. About 300 acres, 1,000 cords wood, some timber, 1200 ft. shore frontage. 14-room house, 2 barns, orchard. Also adjoining farm 8 acres, 7-room cottage and barn. Good repair; now occupied. Sold as a going concern with stock and tools at $11,000. JONES SISTERS, West Brooksville, Maine.

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Site and Buildings of Successful Camp
Beautiful, safe, secluded. On well-known New Hampshire lake. Price moderate. Address Camp, P. O. Box 1,592, Philadelphia, Pa.

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TWO FAMILY, Fourteen Room Dwelling. Nice residential section, suburbs of New York City. Half hour Grand Central; also near subway. Hot water heat, gas, etc. Plot 50 x 100. Garages. Price $9,500. Full particulars from owner, 9,815, Outlook.

Real Estate

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Beautiful Farm Home
FOR SALE
234 acres, including 30 acres woodland, 6 miles from Hudson, N. Y. and N. Y. C. station, 1¼ miles from B. & A. station, 3 miles from Harlem station. Rural delivery and telephone. 12-room house with bath, hot-water heat, open fireplaces, large Colonial halls, large veranda. Large lawn, beautiful shade trees. Fine view Catskill Mts. and Hudson Valley. Small cottage on place. 300 pear trees, 175 apple trees, fruit of all kinds. Large barns, poultry houses, carriage houses, garage, and windmill. Running water in all fields. Address WILBER SMITH
Hudson, Columbia Co., N. Y., R. F. D. 1.

FOR SALE 14-room house at Nyack, N. Y.
Corner plot, 105x165. Gas, electricity, open plumbing, hot-water heat, garage, flowers, fruit, vegetables. $6,000. Inquire P. W. BABCOCK, 11 Broadway, New York.

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FOR SALE
Property on the main road, just beyond east of center, known as the Clyde house, with 15¾ acres, including two corner plots, tenant house, etc. Excellent opportunity for three building sites. Fine shade trees. For particulars address
RALPH G. DUVALL
Shelter Island Heights, N. Y.

Shelter Island Heights, L. I.
FOR SALE—10-Room House
Two bathrooms. All modern improvements. Well furnished throughout. In perfect order. Large porches. R. FECHTETER.

VERMONT

FOR SALE Camp and 31 acres of full-grown timber.
Log cabin, six-foot fireplace, separate kitchen, quantities of blackberries. $1,500. Apply to owner at camp, Perkinsville, Vt., from August 4-25. FRANK B. BIGELOW.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

WANTED—450 Outlook readers to represent this publication this summer—and all through the year, if you like. You can easily earn $10 a week and more, simply by using an hour or two a day of your spare time. If you want extra spending money—and everybody does—write us for details of the Outlook's co-operative profit plan. Simply address Representatives' Division, Desk E, The Outlook, 381 Fourth Ave., New York City.

WANTED—A party to buy a half interest in a blueberry tract in Washington County, Maine. $6,000 required. Good interest on investment. Best of references given and references required. Inquire of Hillard C. Schoppe, 41 Fifth St., Bangor, Maine.

FOR THE HOME

WILD blackberry jelly and other unusual delicacies. Alma Hibbard, Gansevoort, N. Y.

HELP WANTED

Business Situations

CLERK wanted, September 1, in Protestant orphanage near New York. Refined, intelligent, pleasant woman between 25 and 45, to attend to mail, parcels, phone, children's visitors, typing menus, various lists, etc. Permanent resident position, delightful location, refined, homelike atmosphere. 7,193, Outlook.

WANTED—Young, educated, unmarried woman, not nurse or matron, to help entertain and do shopping for women patients at small private hospital for mild mental and nervous affections. Wages $40 monthly and maintenance. State age, education, and give references. Address George H. Torney, 300 South Street, Brookline, Mass.

RAILWAY traffic inspector, $110 a month to start and expenses. Travel if desired. Unlimited advancement. No age limit. Three months' home study. Situation arranged. Prepare for permanent position. Write for booklet CM27 Standard Business Training Institute, Buffalo, N. Y.

WANTED—Bright, active, well educated young woman, preferably college woman, to act as private secretary. Need not have much business experience, but able to take dictation rapidly, though not necessarily rapid typewriter. In answering give full information as to business experience and where educated. 7,203, Outlook.

Companions and Domestic Helpers

HOUSEMOTHER wanted in Episcopal boy's boarding school near New York. Duties include general oversight of minor ailments, outside trained nurse being engaged for special difficulties. Salary $700 and living. Applications should give full details. 7,225, Outlook.

WANTED—Mother's helper to care for two children, one and five years. Light housework, assist with two older children. Good wages. Mrs. R. H. Sloan, 101 Clinton Ave., New Brighton, S. I.

KITCHEN EXECUTIVE for family of 30 to 50. Unmarried Protestant woman with good head for detail and a worker. Permanent position; liberal compensation; good home. Dr. Baright, Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

WANTED — MOTHER'S HELPER or WORKING HOUSEKEEPER. No maids kept, but outside help is furnished. House has all modern conveniences. Reply to Mrs. Estabrook, Deerfield, Mass.

HELP WANTED

Companions and Domestic Helpers

DIETITIANS, cafeteria managers, governesses, matrons, housekeepers. Miss Richards, Box 5, East Side Station, Providence, R. I.

WANTED—Young woman (Protestant) as attendant for little girls in boarding school. Sewing required. References. Address Box 305, Brattleboro, Vt.

WANTED—A reliable woman, good New England cook, for a family of four in a summer cottage at Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard, Mass., for the remainder of the summer and to return to Cambridge, Mass., for the rest of the year. Please communicate with Mrs. C. W. C., Edgartown, Mass.

WANTED—Mother's assistant with children and household duties. Box 15, South Windsor, Conn.

WANTED — Couple, active, industrious, under 45 years, year round position, town 50 miles from New York. Wife cook and general houseworker, husband useful man in and about house. Best references required. Remuneration liberal for right persons. Replying, state nationality. 7,238, Outlook.

Teachers and Governesses

WANTED—Competent teachers for public and private schools. Calls coming every day. Send for circulars. Albany Teachers' Agency, Albany, N. Y.

WANTED, August 24, governess for child four years old. American, Protestant. One who can speak French preferred. Permanent position if satisfactory. 7,179, Outlook.

WANTED by September 15 tutor for three boys, ages 6, 9, and 13. Winter months spent in California. Must be experienced, unmarried, fond of athletics, and of Protestant faith, and have first-class recommendations. H. H. Timken, Canton, Ohio.

WANTED—COMPETENT governess for three children, ages 6, 7, 10 years. DESIRE an experienced teacher who will give thorough physical training. MUST live in CUBA during winter. PREFER CATHOLIC woman from 25 to 35 years. EXCELLENT home and salary. BEST references given and required. ADDRESS 7,198, OUTLOOK.

SEWING teacher and supervisor. All day non-resident position New York City. 7,230, Outlook.

INQUIRIES already coming in for teachers in all subjects for 1919. International Musical and Educational Agency, Carnegie Hall, N. Y.

SITUATIONS WANTED

Business Situations

CHAUFFEUR would like position with private family. Courteous and efficient. Seven years' experience with cars. References regarding character and ability. 7,240, Outlook.

LADY wishes position as manager of inn or apartment hotel. Would lease. 7,241, Outlook.

EXPERIENCED business woman desires position in office or as secretary. Capable and trustworthy. 7,244, Outlook.

Companions and Domestic Helpers

LADY desires to place her excellent English nurse with family going to England or France in early fall. Will take charge of children or invalid in return for passage. Absolutely reliable. Write Mrs. Theodore Lilley, Tolland, Mass.

WIDOW desires supervising elderly gentleman's home. South winters. References. 7,200, Outlook.

REFINED and experienced widow desires position as matron in a cottage at school or college. Best of references. 7,234, Outlook.

EXPERIENCED seamstress desires position in college. Darning and mending a specialty. Best of references. 7,235, Outlook.

EXPERIENCED traveler would chaperon young lady to China and India. Expenses paid and salary. References. 7,233, Outlook.

LADY desires position as mother's helper, companion, housekeeper, or any position of trust; fond of and accustomed to children. Experienced, capable and highly recommended. 7,237, Outlook.

HOUSEKEEPER-COMPANION. Position by lady of experience, capability, and refinement. 7,242, Outlook.

CULTURED woman, unencumbered, experienced foreign and home travel, desires position as companion, managing housekeeper, matron, or housemother. 7,224, Outlook.

MALE nurse desires chronic patient. References. 7,229, Outlook.

Teachers and Governesses

TEACHER of mathematics and French wishes position. 7,163, Outlook.

LADY in New York will tutor and also coach socially younger woman of good character and natural refinement. Confidential. 7,221, Outlook.

YOUNG woman, college graduate, as tutor or companion at seaside or mountains immediately. Highest references. 7,236, Outlook.

EXPERIENCED teacher with normal domestic science diploma and some college training is open to engagement for the coming year. Address R. I. W., 139 Riverside Drive, Northampton, Mass.

MISCELLANEOUS

WANTED—Young women to take nine months' course in nursing. Frances Parker Memorial Home, New Brunswick, N. J.

WANTED, for young woman slightly subnormal, home where no others are taken, with trained or experienced woman. Address, giving experience and terms, 7,239, Outlook.

SUITE of rooms, modern home, in exchange to Christian couple for care of 2 children while mother is at business during day. References exchanged. 35 minutes to Grand Central. Box 438, Harrison, N. Y.

M. W. Wightman & Co. Shopping agency, established 1895. No charge; prompt delivery. 44 West 22d St., New York.

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AN APPEAL FOR ARMENIA

I have just finished reading "Ambassador Morgenthau's Story," and it has made such an impression upon me that I feel every American should do something to help definitely that long-suffering nation—Armenia.

Germany was responsible for Turkey's cruel endeavors to exterminate the Armenians. She alone could have prevented these crimes, which, Ambassador Morgenthau said, were crimes that cried to heaven.

The deportation of men, women, and children originated in Germany's brain, and is acknowledged as one of the most cruel inventions of this inhuman warfare. If Germany had won the war, a similar fate might have awaited our women and children.

As a thank-offering, can not the women of the United States send a petition to Washington asking that we, the United States, act as a mandatory Power for a term of years for Armenia, so that it will be impossible for Turkey to control that country again?

The few who have escaped massacre should surely have guarantees from the civilized nations of the world that they be allowed to form a nation, protected from future aggression and tyranny of Turkey.

It would involve great sacrifices on the part of the United States, but why should not we, the richest and most powerful Nation in the world, be willing to make this sacrifice? It is a wonderful opportunity for a great moral influence throughout the world. H. A. P.

New Canaan, Conn.

FAIRNESS TO NIETZSCHE

I must take issue with the communication in The Outlook of July 30 in which the principles of Jesus are lauded as perfect and as being victorious in the great war, and those of Nietzsche are regarded as evil and as being overthrown. Nietzsche, I know, was entirely in error on some questions; but on many he was largely in the right, and along these lines he has greatly benefited humanity. He revolted from the meekness that submits to oppression and dishonor, the sympathy that maintains degenerates and parasites, and the unselfishness that suppresses individuality and efficiency. He extolled the courage that fights and endures, the health that lives and enjoys, and the genius that creates and achieves. That he went too far in his doctrines no fair-minded person denies. But what other great teacher did not go too far? Even Jesus was no exception.

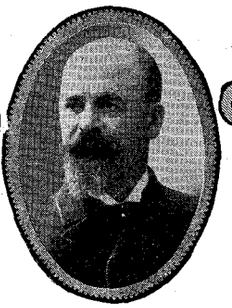
I read Nietzsche's principal books before the war and noticed no Pan-German views and do not believe such views were in his mind. He appeared rather to champion the superman characteristics in humanity in general, regardless of nationalities.

Some of Jesus' principles have been strengthened by the Allied victory, but the same must be said of some of Nietzsche's. The doctrine of love emerges stronger than that of ruthlessness; but, on the other hand, the doctrine of power and courage appears more admirable than that of non-resistance and submission.

My conclusion, reached before the war, was that rationalist religion must take its stand between the two extremes of self-assertion and self-suppression, and I have seen no reason during the war or since for changing my attitude. Let us have fairness to Nietzsche no less than to other teachers. CYRUS H. ESHLEMAN.

Ludington, Michigan, August 7, 1919.

BEEMAN'S



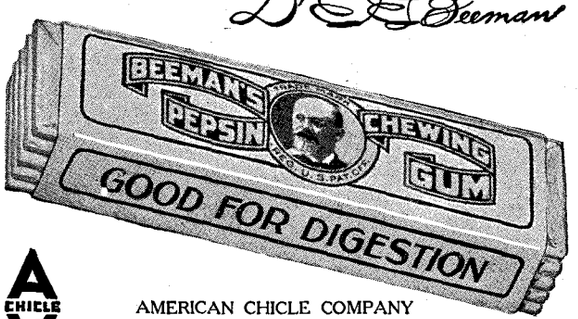
ORIGINAL PEPSIN CHEWING GUM

Indigestion a handicap to business success

A FEELING of heaviness after eating with the attendant annoyances that come with slight attacks of indigestion will sooner or later depress the most hopeful and optimistic. No person in business can do his or her best under these conditions.

In the great majority of cases, this type of indigestion is much less severe than its character and effects seem to indicate. Indeed, if men and women will eat more regularly, and less hurriedly, use greater care in selecting their food—especially at midday—and make a practice of chewing a stick of my original pepsin gum for ten to twenty minutes after each meal, they will be surprised and gratified at the prompt relief from their indigestion. And don't forget, removing the handicap of indigestion means a substantial gain in mental and business efficiency.

D. E. Beeman



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AMERICAN CHICLE COMPANY
New York Cleveland Chicago Kansas City San Francisco

THE OUTLOOK. August 20, 1919. Volume 122, Number 16. Published weekly by The Outlook Company at 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Subscription price $4.00 a year. Entered as second-class matter, July 21, 1893, at the Post Office at New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879

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